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BY THE SAME AUTHOR  
THE  
UTTARA-RĀMA-CHARITA  
OF  
BHAVABHŪTI

MARATHI TRANSLATION

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### System of Transliteration

अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ए ऐ ओ औ  
a ā i ī u ū ṛi ṛī li e ai o au

क ख ग घ ङ	च छ ज झ ञ
ka kha ga gha ṅa	cha chha ja jha ṅa
ट ठ ड ढ ण	त थ द ध न
ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa	ta tha da dha na
प फ ब भ म	य र ल व श
pa pha ba bha ma	ya ra la va śa

ष स ह ळ  
sha sa ha ḷa

Visarga — ḥ ; Nasalized ऋ as in संयम — m̐

Nasalized नृ as in मीमांसा — n̐

## PREFACE

The following essay (with the *nom de plume* वाचारम्भोदयिकारः) was offered in competition for the Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik Gold Medal of the University of Bombay. It was approved by the Judges with the remark: It deserves to be printed, as it collects together a great deal of interesting historical information. It is now accordingly published with the kind permission of the University of Bombay.

In preparing the essay I have utilised the labours of most of the previous workers in the field, to whose writings I have given constant references in the foot-notes. I also enjoyed the exceptional advantage of having at my disposal the entire Government Manuscripts Library at the Deccan College, Poona, and was in fact, at the time of writing this essay, actually engaged in preparing a Descriptive Catalogue of the grammatical works in that Library.

As the title indicates, it is an essay—a mere tentative attempt—and not a profound treatise; and I have thought it worth while printing it merely because, as far as I know, no work of the kind, covering exactly the field of this essay, has so far appeared. In the 'Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie' there was to appear a work which would have made the writing of this essay superfluous, but apparently nothing has come of it so far.

I have made a few necessary changes in the essay as it was originally submitted, especially in the light of some kind suggestions received from Professor Hari Mahadeva Bhadkamkar of the Wilson College, Bombay, and from Professor Vaijanath Kashinath Rajavade of the Fergusson College, Poona, who were appointed judges for the essay. My old and honoured teacher, Professor K. B. Pathak, had also the goodness to read the essay through and point out certain inaccuracies of fact and statement, for which I am deeply grateful to him. For the most part, however, the

essay remains just as it was written in 1909 with the exception of the Chronological Conspectus and the General Index, without which no published work of this nature could be regarded as complete.

I do not, of course, expect that the essay would be entirely free from mistakes both of omission and of commission. New facts are coming to light every day; and even of facts that have been already known, it is too much to hope—so numerous are the workers in the field and so scattered their writings—that I have taken into consideration all, or even the most important all. I would most thankfully receive, therefore, any corrections or suggestions for improvement. I only hope that the essay contains enough to justify its publication in this present form.

POONA,  
November 1914.

}

S. K. BELVALKAR.

*Postscript* : Little did I expect, when I wrote the above in November last, that one of the judges for the essay—Professor H. M. Bhadkamkar of the Wilson College, Bombay—would not live to see it in print. But it is the unexpected that has happened. Professor Bhadkamkar took a genuine interest in me and my work, and by writing this *postscript* I wish to keep his name permanently associated with what is—though not the first—yet one of the earliest fruits of my literary activity.

DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA,  
15th July 1915.

}

S. K. BELVALKAR.

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT EXISTING

# SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

1. *Grammatical speculations in India: Their extent and value.*—It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that in no other country has the science of grammar been studied with such a zeal and carried to such a perfection as it has been in India. Even a bare catalogue of the names of grammarians ancient and modern and of such of their works as are still preserved to us can amply bear out the truth of this assertion. On the lowest calculation there are yet current in various parts of India nearly a dozen different schools of Sanskrit grammar, at least three hundred writers in the field including those that are known to us only from quotations, and more than a thousand separate treatises original as well as explanatory. And it is not merely the quantity—for that need not be a source of unalloyed pride to any people—but the quality of the work produced that has won for it a recognition and an honorable mention even at the hands of the rigorously scientific philologists of our own day, who are not ashamed to own their obligations to works and authors of over twenty-five hundred years old.

### Early grammatical speculations

2. *Grammatical speculations in the Vedas.*—The earliest speculations of a grammatical nature are to be met with in the later portions of the R̥gveda itself; for, even if we condemn Patañjali's explanation (Mahābhāṣya: Kielhorn, Vol. 1, p. 3) of चत्वारि शृङ्गा by नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाता: or his explanation (Ibid. p. 4; R̥gveda viii. 69. 12) of सप्त सिन्धवः by सप्त विभक्तयः as being too subtle for the Vedic  
1 [Sk. Gr.]



bards,<sup>1</sup> still passages, such as Rigveda x. 125 or Taittirīya Samhitā vi, 4. 7. 3, already evince the consciousness that the study of the forms of speech is of sufficient importance to be pursued by itself independently of the dealings between men and men which are rendered possible by them. It is not, however, necessary for our purpose to put together all the Vedic passages that have or can be made to have a grammatical significance. Suffice it to say that the available data do not warrant the supposition that the 'Seers of the Mantras' had made any considerable advance in the science of grammar. Indeed, it was not their business to do that. To observe the silent or violent workings of Nature and to record in fitting verse the feelings and thoughts awakened by their contemplation was enough to employ all their leisure hours. Philosophy arises only when the harmony of life is disturbed from within (or from without) so that the old child-like faith in the world and its laws becomes no longer possible ; and grammar is a species of philosophy.

The study of grammar receives a sudden impetus when one form of speech comes into close contact with another and a different form. Thus, for example, the discovery of Sanskrit by modern Europe has created a revolution in the science of philology, just as, in ancient times, the Roman conquest of Greece and, later, the discovery of Greek after the fall of Constantinople led to equally momentous consequences in the development of thought.— The same result is also produced when in course of time there arise inevitable dialectical peculiarities *within* a language. These are either a consequence of the impact of the different races one of which conquers and dominates over the rest,<sup>2</sup> or they may be due

1 Compare Tantra-vārtika, Benares edition, p. 216.

2 Until the Greeks began to teach

their language to the Romans, Greek grammar made little progress.

to a change in the climatic conditions—to the people having migrated from one place to another and modified their expressions and articulations in the course of their journey. Something of this sort must have happened when the ancient Sanskrit diverged into the different forms of Prākṛit, and we are probably to explain in the same way the considerable difference that is observable in the language of the Brāhmanas when contrasted with that of the ancient Sāhītas.<sup>1</sup>

3. Grammatical speculations in the Brāhmanas.—When we come to the Brāhmanic speculations on the nature and meaning of the utterances of the ancient sages, we find that they have already lost any living touch with the old form of the language. Old forms and old words as also old ideas had grown obsolete giving place to newer, less poetic and more practical ones.<sup>2</sup> Since, however, the Sacred Scriptures (the Vedas) were composed in the older form of the language, and since, for various reasons, it was deemed necessary to preserve intact from generation to generation the inherited stock of Vedic poetry, attention came naturally to be focussed upon the peculiarities of that form of the language, and this was the beginning of grammar proper.

The main interest of the Brāhmanas, however, was sacerdotal. They busied themselves with the details of the ritual and tried to discover—or invent—a rational, that is to say, a mythological justification for every act of the priest and every element of the sacrifice. If they discussed questions of grammar or phonetics at all, they

1 Dr. Burnell. In his essay on the Aindra school of Grammarians notes, "without some contact with foreign peoples, and bitter disputes among religious sects at home, such high-

ly developed enquiry into language as Pūṣini's treatise displays is contrary to all experience."

2 Compare the Arctic home in the Vedas, p. 230.

came in mainly by way of illustration, or because no other equally cogent explanation of the *Saṁhitā* passage in question was at hand. We cannot make much capital out of their stray and half poetic utterances.

4. **Grammatical speculations in allied works.**—It was in the next period that the study of grammar *as a science* was taken in earnest. This was the period when the scattered hymns of the Vedas came to be collected into family-books and elaborate rules were framed for the regulation of the *parishads* or *charaṇas*.<sup>1</sup> To help students in their task there also came into being about the same time various manuals on phonetics,<sup>2</sup> which dealt with letters, accents, quantity, pronunciation, and euphonic rules. In course of time the retentive faculty came to be cultivated to an extent which is without any parallel in the history of the world. A further advance was made by the constitution of the *Padapāṭha*, commonly ascribed to Śākalya, which resolved the euphonic combinations and gave each word, each member of a compound, each prefix of the verb, as also each suffix or termination of the noun separately. The stock of grammatical notions familiar to this stage of development, though not very large, is already sufficient to indicate the earnestness of the search for truth.

5. **The predecessors of Yāska.**—We are not yet certain when the art of writing came to be invented—or introduced—in Ancient India. It was certainly much earlier than what Max Müller once believed it to be.<sup>3</sup> Whatever that period might be, it must have been prior to the production of the *Prātiśākhya* literature; and by this we

1. See Max Müller's *History of Ancient Indian literature*, 2nd edition pp. 128, 187, &c.

2. Cp. *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, vii. 1.

3. *History of Ancient Indian Lite-*

*ature*, p. 520. Compare on the subject Bühler's contribution to the *Grundriss der Indogermanischen Philologie*, especially page 18.

mean not the Prātiśākhya in their present form—which are post-Pāṇiniya and pre-suppose much of his terminology—but in some earlier form, and under whatever other names they may have been then known.<sup>1</sup> The contributions which these prototypes of our present Prātiśākhya made to the science of grammar can now, in the absence of any really representative works of that class, be merely guessed at. If the nature and contents of our existing Prātiśākhya literature can safely be made the basis of any inference, we may suppose that these earlier treatises 1. classified the Vedic texts into the four forms of speech known to Yāska ; 2. framed and carefully defined some of the primitive<sup>2</sup> saṁjñās or technical terms ; and 3. possibly also made some more or less crude attempts to reduce the words to their elements and explain the mode of their grammatical formation. The really creative period of this science is just this. Had there been for this period any works extant, they would have shown us Yāska in the making, as Yāska himself, to some extent, shows us Pāṇini in the making. It is a great pity, therefore, that the period should be all blank to us. Since, however, these tentative sallies of the earlier authors were not probably definite enough to constitute a *system*, and since we have here to treat of *systems* of Sanskrit grammar, we must next pass on to Yāska<sup>3</sup>, who, although a philologist and not a grammarian as such, can for our purpose be regarded as forming the link between the primitive Prātiśākhya type of spe-

1 Goldstücker, Pāṇini : his place in Sanskrit literature, pp. 183 and ff. ; Reprint of the same by Pāṇini office, pp. 141 and ff.

2 Primitive : those namely that Pāṇini pre-supposes and uses without explaining them. Dr.

Burnell would call these the *terms of the Aindra School of Grammarians*.

3 Yāska calls his own work a complement to grammar :  
व्याकरणस्य वारत्तम् ।

culatation on the one hand, and the later Pāṇiniya mode of thought on the other.

6. Yāska's Nirukta: Its date.—In a memorable passage Yāska himself roughly indicates the course of the development of Vedic studies before his time, and, reflecting the achievements made upto his days in the sciences of grammar and philology, contributes his own quota to the same. The passage has been variously interpreted, but the explanation given below may be found perhaps as acceptable as any other.<sup>1</sup> It mentions three distinct periods of intellectual development corresponding roughly to sections 2-5 above. Unfortunately, the time of Yāska is by no means yet certain. It depends for the most part, on the date that is to be assigned to Pāṇini, between whom and this great writer at least a century, if not more, must be supposed to have elapsed in order to account properly for all the advances<sup>2</sup> in the matter.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 1. साक्षात्कृतधर्माण कपयो बभूवुः।   | { | These are the original "Seers of Mantras".  |
| तेऽध्वरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मस्य उप-<br>देशेन मन्त्रान् सम्पादुः।                            |   | These correspond to the authors of the Brāhmanic speculations; possibly also to the compilers of the family-books.                          |
| उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽध्वरे बिल्मग्रह-<br>णायैर्म ग्रन्थं समाम्नासिषुः। वेदं च<br>वेदाङ्गानि च॥ |   | These are the authors of the Pada-pāṭha, the Nighaṇṭu, and other allied works, including possibly the prototypes of our modern Prātisākhya. |

- |                              |               |                                    |
|------------------------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| 2. Thus, for—                | Yāska uses—   | while Pāṇini uses—                 |
| Causal                       | कारित         | गिजन्त                             |
| Frequentative                | चर्करीत       | पङ्कलजन्त                          |
| Desiderative                 | चिकीर्षित     | ससन्त                              |
| Attribute                    | व्यञ्जन       | विशेषण                             |
| Weak termination             | निवृत्तिस्थान | { No one term exists<br>for these. |
| Denominative<br>termination: | नामकरण        |                                    |
- Similarly Yāska defines (rather derives) सर्वनाम as सर्वाणि नामानि यस्य । सर्वेषु भूतेषु नमति गच्छति वा । सर्वव्यापि । It is often used by him otherwise than as a technical term of grammar. Compare vi. 6. 8, vii. 1. 2, vii. 1. 5, &c. Again,

and wording of the rules of grammar that are to be met with in the *Ashtādhyāyī*. We have dealt with the question of Pāṇini's date in another part of this essay, and if that result be accepted, Yāska must be placed about 800 to 700 before Christ.

There are, however, a few facts which seem to militate against the view that Yāska flourished before Pāṇini. The *Sūtras* of Pāṇini nowhere make any provision for the formation of words like अपार्ण, which occurs in *Nirukta* (Bib. Ind. edition, Vol. iv. page 258 &c.). Nor did Pāṇini apparently know Yāska's explanation of सूर्य ( *Rigveda* x. 85.20) by सूर्यस्य पत्नी. Pāṇini must, therefore, have preceded Yāska; else how can we account for such omissions in a grammarian of the calibre of Pāṇini? The utter uselessness of these and similar negative arguments can be seen on a closer examination of the instances adduced. To obviate the last of these defects Kātyāyana<sup>1</sup> gives सूर्यद्विषतायां चाय यक्तव्यः as a *vārtika* to *sūtra* iv. 1. 48. Kātyāyana must, therefore, have come after Yāska whose work he here presumably utilises. On the contrary, the first omission is not rectified even by Kātyāyana who gives two *vārtikas* (no. 7 and 8 to vi. 1.89) to explain forms like प्रार्ण and ऋणार्ण but not अपार्ण. This would necessitate the supposition that Yāska came after Kātyāyana. A mode of argumentation which leads to such contradictory conclusions is no safe foundation for

there is a great distance between Yāska's definition of निपात as उच्चावचेष्टयोर्निपातन्ति and his giving the meanings for each individually, and Pāṇini's classification of them into उपसर्ग when joined to verbs, गति if the root develops into a noun, and कर्मप्रवचनीय. Many more similar illustrations could be found.

1. In Kielhorn's edition vol. ii. p. 220, this is given not as a *vārtika* of Kātyāyana but as a part of the *Maṅbhāṣya*. In that case Yāska's explanation of अरण्यानी as अरण्यस्य पत्नी and his non-acquaintance with *vārtika* 1 to *Sūtra* iv. 1. 49 may be adduced to prove the point at issue.

culuation on the one hand, and the later Pāṇiniya mode of thought on the other.

6. Yāska's Nirukta : Its date.—In a memorable passage Yāska himself roughly indicates the course of the development of Vedic studies before his time, and, reflecting the achievements made upto his days in the sciences of grammar and philology, contributes his own quota to the same. The passage has been variously interpreted, but the explanation given below may be found perhaps as acceptable as any other.<sup>1</sup> It mentions three distinct periods of intellectual development corresponding roughly to sections 2-5 above. Unfortunately the time of Yāska is by no means yet certain. It depends for the most part, on the date that is to be assigned to Pāṇini, between whom and this great writer at least a century, if not more, must be supposed to have elapsed in order to account properly for all the advances<sup>2</sup> in the matter

- 1 साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः । { These are the original "Seers of Mantras".
- तेऽध्वरेभ्योऽसाक्षात्कृतधर्मस्य उप- { These correspond to the authors of the Brāhmanic speculations; possibly also to the compilers of the वेदोक्तं मन्त्राच्च सम्पादुः । { family-books.
- उपदेशाय ग्लायन्तोऽध्वरे विलम्ब- { These are the authors of the Pada- णायमे ग्रन्थं समाग्रासिषुः । वेदे च { pāṭha, the Nighaṇṭu, and other allied works, including possibly the proto- वेदान्तानि च ॥ { types of our modern Prātiśākhya.

2. Thus, for—	Yūska uses—	while Pāṇini uses—
Causal	कारित	णिजन्त
Frequentative	चर्करित	पङ्क्तुवन्त
Desiderative	चिकीर्षित	सञ्जन्त
Attribute	व्यञ्जन	विशेषण
Weak termination	निवृत्तिस्थान	
Denominative termination. {	नामकरण	{ No one term exists for these.

Similarly Yūska defines (rather derives) सर्वनाम as सर्वाणि नामानि यस्य । सर्वेषु भूतेषु नमति गच्छति वा । सर्वेष्वपि । It is

often used by him otherwise than as a technical term of grammar. Compare vi. 6. 8, vii. 1. 2, vii. 1. 5, &c. Again,

and wording of the rules of grammar that are to be met with in the *Ashtādhyāyī*. We have dealt with the question of Pāṇini's date in another part of this essay, and if that result be accepted, Yāska must be placed about 800 to 700 before Christ.

There are, however, a few facts which seem to militate against the view that Yāska flourished before Pāṇini. The *Sūtras* of Pāṇini nowhere make any provision for the formation of words like अपाण, which occurs in *Nirukta* (Bib. Ind. edition, Vol. iv. page 258 &c.). Nor did Pāṇini apparently know Yāska's explanation of सूर्य ( *Rigveda* x. 85.20) by सूर्यस्य पत्नी. Pāṇini must, therefore, have preceded Yāska; else how can we account for such omissions in a grammarian of the calibre of Pāṇini? The utter uselessness of these and similar negative arguments can be seen on a closer examination of the instances adduced. To obviate the last of these defects Kātyāyana<sup>1</sup> gives सूर्यदेवतायां चाप्युक्तव्यः as a *vārtika* to *sūtra* iv. 1. 48. Kātyāyana must, therefore, have come after Yāska whose work he here presumably utilises. On the contrary, the first omission is not rectified even by Kātyāyana who gives two *vārtikas* (no. 7 and 8 to vi. 1.89) to explain forms like प्राण and कृष्णान् but not अपाण. This would necessitate the supposition that Yāska came after Kātyāyana. A mode of argumentation which leads to such contradictory conclusions is no safe foundation for

there is a great distance between Yāska's definition of निपात as उच्चारणेनैव निपातन्ति and his giving the meanings for each individually, and Pāṇini's classification of them into उपसर्ग when joined to verbs, पति if the root develops into a noun, and कर्मप्रत्ययनिप. Many more similar illustrations could be found.

1. In Kielhorn's edition vol. ii. p. 220, this is given not as a *vārtika* of Kātyāyana but as a part of the *Mahābhāṣya*. In that case Yāska's explanation of अरण्यानी as अरण्यस्य पत्नी and his non-acquaintance with *vārtika* 1 to *Sūtra* iv. 1. 49 may be adduced to prove the point at issue.



any chronological edifice, especially when the evidence for Yāska's priority to Pāṇini is so overwhelming.

7. Nature of Yāska's work.—In form Yāska's work is a running commentrary upon a list of words in five adhyāyas, known as the Nighaṇṭu. The words are all taken from the Veda; the first three adhyāyas arrange them as synonyms, the fourth is a collection of certain difficult words occurring in the Veda, while the last is a list of the names of Vedic deities. Yāska takes these words one by one (in the case of the first three adhyāyas only the more important ones), quotes Vedic passages wherein they are used, and tries to connect them with radical stems and launches into various interesting social and historical discussions in his attempts to trace the later history of these words, always giving references to any conflicting views that may have been held on the subject. Certain general reflections as to the nature and utility of the study of the Vedas, the cosmological functions of the Vedic Gods, and so forth also find their proper place in the work.

That grammatical speculations had sufficiently advanced in the days of Yāska is evidenced even by the list of schools and individual teachers quoted or referred to in the Nirukta,<sup>1</sup> none of whose works have been preserved to us. Yāska already knew, what it required an Aristotle to discover subsequently, viz : the fourfold classification of words, as also the distinction between personal terminations and tense affixes on the one hand, and the primary and secondary nominal affixes on the other. Nay, he definitely formulates the theory that every noun is deriv-

1 These are: आग्रयणः, आश्रयणः,  
आचार्याः, एके, ऐतिहासिकाः, औदुव-  
रायणः, औपमन्यवः, और्णवाभः,  
कात्थक्यः, कौष्टिकः, गार्ग्यः, गालवः,  
वर्मशिराः, तैट्टिकः, नैदानाः, नैरुक्ताः,

परित्राजकाः, पार्षदानि, मनुः, या-  
ज्ञिकाः, पूर्वे याज्ञिकाः, वाण्यायणिः,  
वैय्याकरणाः, शाकटायनः, शाक-  
पूणिः, शाकल्यः, स्थौलाष्टीविः, हारि-  
द्वक्त्रम् ॥

ed from a verbal root and meets the various objections raised against it,—a theory on which the whole system of Pāṇini is based, and which is, in fact, the postulate of modern Philology.<sup>1</sup>

8. *Yāska's successors.*—Many valuable works on grammar subsequent to Yāska's Nirukta but anterior to Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī* have been irrevocably lost to us; for, it cannot be maintained with cogency that the extremely artificial and algebraic style of the *Ashtādhyāyī* could have been completely evolved by Pāṇini himself in the absence of similar tentative works preceding his. We have got for this the evidence of Pāṇini's own sūtras, which use many technical words and formulas without having previously explained them<sup>2</sup>—an omission which, as indicated by Pāṇini at i.2.53-57, is to be accounted for on the supposition that they were too well-known or already sufficiently dealt with in other works to need any exposition at his hands.

Some of these works must certainly have been in existence long after the time of the *Mahābhāṣya*, since we find many quotations from them in later writers. The chief founders of grammatical schools prior to Pāṇini are, Āpiśali and Kāśakṛtsna (compare Pāṇini vi. 1. 92). A rule of Āpiśali<sup>3</sup> is given by the *Kāśikā* on vii. 3. 95,

1 Compare Max Müller's *History of Ancient Sk. Literature*, pp. 161-168.

2 Such as प्रत्यय, यथमा, द्वितीया, तृतीया, चतुर्थी, पञ्चमी, षष्ठी, सप्तमी, समास, तत्पद, अव्ययीभाव, षट्श्रुति, कृत्, तद्धित, &c., occurring respectively in i. 1. 69, ii. 3. 46, ii. 3. 2, ii. 3. 18, ii. 3. 13, ii. 3. 28, ii. 3. 60, ii. 3. 36, ii. 1. 3, ii. 1. 22, ii. 1. 5, ii. 2. 23, iii. 1. 93, iv. 1. 76,

and elsewhere. These could not all have been taken from the *Pratīśukhya* works anterior to Yāska, since some of them appear to be unknown to that author and must have come into vogue since his day. Compare also Pāṇini i. 3. 120, अख्ये मास्त्रियाम् । where Bhaṭṭojī says, आद्येति दासंज्ञा प्राच्यम् । 3 अपिदादास्तुस्तुशब्दः मार्षधातुः । तु शब्दमिति पठन्ति ।

while elsewhere it gives us the information that the grammar of Kāśakṛitsna consisted of sūtras thrown into three Adhyāyas.<sup>1</sup> Kaiyyaṭa on v. 1. 21 actually gives portions of the text of both these grammarians<sup>2</sup>—and this is about all the information that we possess regarding these two ancient grammarians. To later writers like Bopadeva<sup>3</sup> they are probably little more than mere names.

9. The so-called Aindra treatises.—The case stands a little different with Indra or Indragomin. Pāṇini nowhere mentions this name except under the general appellation of 'the easterners'. An oft-quoted passage from the fourth taraṅga of the Kathāsaritsāgara informs us that the school which Pāṇini supplanted was known as the Aindra school, and numbered among its adherents Kātyāyana alias Vararuchi, Vyāḍi, and Indradatta. Hiuen Tsang the Chinese pilgrim, and Tārānātha the Tibetan historian, both relate a similar story, the latter adding that the Chāndra vyākaraṇa agrees with Pāṇini, and the Kālāpa vyākaraṇa with the Aindra. Tārānātha also states that God Kārttikeya revealed the Aindra vyākaraṇa to Sapta- (not Sarva-)varman (compare section 64, below). Further corroborative evidence is furnished by a passage<sup>4</sup> from the Taittirīya-saṁhitā (vii. 4. 7), which speaks of Indra as the first of grammarians. To all this Dr. Burnell

1 Compare the Kūśikū on v. 1. 58, and iv. 2.65 : त्रिकं काशकृत्स्नम् । त्रिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः । Another bit of information about आपिशलि, which I owe to Professor Pathak, is that he changed the root अस् 'to be' to स. Compare अस्ति सकारमातिष्ठते, in the Mahābhāṣya on i. 3. 22. Jinendrabuddhi and Śakāṭyāyana (i. 4. 38) supply आपिशलिः as

the subject of आतिष्ठते ।

2 आपिशलकाशकृत्स्नयोस्त्वग्रन्थ इति वचनादन्यत्र प्रतिषेधाभावः ।

3 Compare, इन्द्रश्चन्द्रः काशकृत्स्नापिशली शाकटायनः । पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः ॥ from Bopadeva's Mugdhabodha.

4 वाग् वै पराच्यव्याकृताऽवदत् । ते देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन्निमां नो वाचं व्याकुर्विति । ..... । तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽप्रक्रम्य व्याकरोत् ।

further adds that the Tolkappiyam, one of the oldest Tamil grammars, represents itself to be full of the Aindra system, and was read in the Pāṇḍya King's assembly and there met with approval. This Tolkappiyam is closely related to Kātantra, to Kachchāyana's Pāli grammar, and to the Prātiśākhya, all of which are to be regarded as treatises belonging to the Aindra school of grammarians. The conclusion<sup>1</sup> which Dr. Burnell reaches is that the 'Aindra was the oldest school of Sanskrit grammar, and that Aindra treatises were actually known to and quoted by Pāṇini and others, and that Aindra treatises still exist in the Prātiśākhya, in the Kātantra, and in similar works, though they have been partly recast or corrected.' And again, 'the Aindra treatises belong to a system older than Pāṇini's, though there is perhaps reason to believe that not one of them is, as a whole, older than the grammar of the last.'

That the technical terms used by the so-called Aindra treatises are connected with one another and are, further, simpler and more primitive than those of Pāṇini is quite evident; and on this ground it is not unlikely that they represent a school of grammarians prior to Pāṇini's. But since, besides the Aindra, we have at least two other schools also older than Pāṇini, it will not do to put down every one of these saṁjñās as belonging to the Aindra school, seeing that we have no information regarding the saṁjñās of the other two. In the present state of our knowledge, the fact that the Aindra school is nowhere quoted by name either in Pāṇini or Mahābhāṣya or Kāśikā should point to the conclusion—also endorsed by Keilhorn—that the Aindra school is post-Pāṇiniya in date, though pre-Pāṇiniya in substance. Possibly it may be no other than the Kātantra school

<sup>1</sup> Compare his Essay on the Aindra school of grammarians, *passim*.

which belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era.

Any further details regarding the grammatical efforts earlier than Pāṇini it is not possible to give. All that we can do is, following Yāska and on the basis of references occurring in Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and the earlier Prātiśākhya and Brāhmaṇas, to frame a tabular statement of the schools and teachers with the tenets peculiar to each. A beginning towards one is made in Dr. Burnell's essay quoted before, where only the names of the teachers—some of them later than Pāṇini—are given.<sup>1</sup>

### The School of Panini

10. **The School of Pāṇini.**—The work which brought to a focus these tentative efforts of the early grammarians<sup>2</sup> and by its accuracy and thoroughness eclipsed all its predecessors, dominating the thoughts of generations of thinkers even to present times, is the *Ashtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It stands—and it will always stand as long as Sanskrit continues to be studied—as a monument at once of encyclopedic research and technical perfection. The work is also interesting in that it is probably the oldest surviv-

1 A few instances are also collected in *Indische Studien*, iv. p. 76. Compare also *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 160.

2 In his *sūtras* Pāṇini refers to the Northern and the Eastern schools of grammarians and to the following ten individual authors: आपिशलि, काश्यप, गार्ग्य, गालव, चाक्रवर्मण, भारद्वाज, शाकटायन, शाकल्य, सेनक, and स्फोटायन. It would not be far from the truth to assume that

in one way or another Pāṇini's work was an improvement upon those of his predecessors. Some of them may have confined their attention merely to the Vedic and some to the post-Vedic Literature, or, treating of both, must have given less attention to current speech and more to the scriptures. The *Vedāṅga* spoken of by Yāska must be such a treatise and not the *Ashtādhyāyī*.

ing specimen of that type of literary activity which found expression in the aphoristic style.<sup>1</sup>

11. Pāṇini's date —The question about the age of this greatest of grammarians is by no means yet settled, or even on the way of being settled. The late Dr. Peterson was inclined to identify him with his namesake, Pāṇini the poet, quoted in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāshitāvali* and elsewhere, and to place him 'at a date much later than that ordinarily accepted,' that is, about the beginning of the Christian era.<sup>2</sup> The identification of Pāṇini the grammarian with Pāṇini the poet was also accepted by Pischel, who however assigned to him the date cir. 500 before Christ. The question 'how far Pāṇini will eventually have to be brought down from the date now accepted for him, or how far it may be, on the contrary, advisable to push into remoter antiquity the lyrical poetry of Northern India' is finally left undetermined by Dr. Peterson.<sup>3</sup>

According to this view it would appear that the two well-known references to the *ākhyāyikā* called *Vāśavadattā* occurring in the *Mahābhāṣya* (vol. ii, p. 284) are to be taken as chronologically in touch with the celebrated romance of Subandhu, a writer of the seventh century. This will leave not even a century between Patañjali and Bhartrihari the author of the *Vākyapadīya*. How in that case we are to account for the vicissitudes in the text of the *Mahābhāṣya* as recorded in the latter work<sup>4</sup> and in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*<sup>5</sup> one is at a loss to say. Since the recent discovery of Bhāsa's *Svapna-Vāśavadattam*, which probably was based upon an earlier epic or *ākhyānaka*,

1 That the *sūtra*-form was not new in Pāṇini's days is evident from the *sūtra* v. 1.58 : संस्पृषाः संज्ञासङ्घुःश्राव्यपनेषु ।

2 See his Report on the search of Sk. Mss. for 1882-83, pp. 39ff.

3 Introduction to the *Subhāshitāvali*, p. 58.

4 Towards the end of *Kūṇḍa* ii.

5 Compare 1.176 ; See also Indian Antiquary, vol. iv. p. 107.

we are no longer required to connect Patañjali with Subandhu.

Weber and after him Max Müller put Pāṇini down to about 350 B. C., thereby making Pāṇini almost the contemporary of Kātyāyana the author of the *vārtikas* to Pāṇini's *sūtras*; <sup>1</sup> and this opinion obtained for a time, until it was assailed by Drs. Goldstücker and Bhandarkar who have succeeded in proving that Pāṇini cannot have flourished later than B. C. 500. Goldstücker went much farther: he maintained that 'within the whole range of Sanskrit literature, so far as it is known to us, only the *Samhitās* of the *Ṛik*, *Sāma*, and *Krishna-Yajus*, and among individual authors only the exegete *Yāska* preceded Pāṇini, and that the whole bulk of the remaining known literature is posterior to him.'<sup>2</sup> This position in an exaggerated form has been stated at length by Pandit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, in the introduction to his *Nirukta*, making *Yāska* also a successor of Pāṇini. The date he assigns to Pāṇini is cir. 2400 before Christ.

Conclusions of this kind it was once the fashion to brush aside as carrying the starting point of Vedic chronology much farther than there was any warrant for it. Since, however, recent researches into the antiquity of

1 History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, as quoted by Goldstücker in his note 91, p. 80 (Reprint, p. 60) of Pāṇini, His place &c.

2 Goldstücker, *loc. cit.*, p. 243 (Reprint, p. 187). This view of Goldstücker, however, is not strictly accurate. Pāṇini must have known some form of the *Gr̥hya* and the *Dharma sūtras*. In his *sūtra* iv. 4. 71 Pāṇini mentions prohibited places or times for study:

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात्. Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* (vol. ii, p. 386) explains what prohibited places (स्मृज्ञान) or times (अमावास्या or चतुर्दशी) are meant. These prohibitions are embodied in works of the *Gr̥hya* or *Dharma sūtra* type, and Pāṇini must be thinking of some such works existing in his days. I owe this note to Professor Pathak.

the Vedas have done much to throw a doubt over the starting point for Ancient Indian Literature accepted by Professor Max Müller and other writers, the best thing, in the absence of any positive evidence, is a suspension of judgment. In another place (pp. 6-7) we have given reasons for agreeing with Goldstücker in accepting the priority of Yāska over Pāṇini. Perhaps 700 to 600 B. C. would be as near an approximation to Pāṇini's time as, in our present state of knowledge, or rather want of knowledge, we are likely to get.

12. The view that Pāṇini cannot be placed before B. C. 350 examined.—The fact that Pāṇini in iv. 1.49 (इन्द्रवरुणमथर्षक्रतुर्बृहस्पतिमरुतमसामाहुर्नाभार्याणामाहुः) mentions Yavanas (and the female formation Yavanānt from the stem) has led most western scholars to put down Pāṇini to a date not earlier than B. C. 350. The underlying assumptions are: i. that 'Yavanas' can designate none but the Ionian Greeks, and ii. that India did not have her knowledge of 'Yavanas' prior to Alexander's invasion, B. C. 327. Now regarding point i. the late Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra in his 'Indo-Aryans' gave ample evidence to prove that for no period of Indian history could we be quite certain that the word Yavana necessarily designated the Ionian Greeks. But even if we agree to waive this consideration for the present, point ii. is by no means a settled fact. The 'v' sound in the word 'Yavana' represents an original digamma (Γ) in Greek; and as the digamma was lost as early as B. C. 800, the Sanskrit word 'Yavana' must be at least as old as the ninth century before Christ. The Ionians appear in history long before B. C. 1,000 and it is not at all improbable that the Indians knew them, as well as their neighbouring races,—such as Assyrians (असुर-असुर-असुर्य) Skythians (शक-शकस्थानीय), Medes (मद-मेद-मदन), Persians (पारसीक), Parthians (पल्लव), etc.—perhaps centuries before Alexander's invasion. At any rate if Indian troops are



known to have formed part of the army of Darius in the battle of Plataeæ (B. C. 479), India's knowledge of the Greeks can go back to the middle of the fifth century before Christ. The fact is—and scholars are just beginning to recognise it—that we have been too hasty in condemning the Pauranic accounts of the frontier tribes and races (*e. g.* those in the Vishṇupurāṇa or in the Mahābhārata, Bhishmaparvan, Chap. xi) as purely imaginative fabrications. We have so far altogether ignored the extensive commerce and interchange of ideas that went on between the Indian Aryans and their brethren beyond the frontiers as far as the Mediterranean—and this long before B. C. 400. So much so that when other independent proofs vouch for the antiquity of an author (in the case of Pāṇini we shall discuss these proofs presently) the burden of proof rests with the person who maintains that some specific reference in that author belongs to a later and not to an earlier time, when, so far as facts go, the reference might just as well be to an earlier period.

Nay, more. In this particular case Pāṇini's reference must certainly belong to the earlier period. Compared with Kātyāyana's knowledge about the Yavanas that of Pāṇini is very slight. Pāṇini did not know that the Yavanas had a script of their own (comp. यवनालिप्याम्, Kātyāyana's vārtika 3 to iv. 1.49), or at least in his time there was no current Sanskrit word for that script. Nor was the fact that the Yavanas had a native-place and a kingdom of their own sufficiently known to Sanskrit literature, as is evidenced by Kātyāyana's vārtika कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुग्वचनं चोडावर्थम् *i. e.* चोडकडेरल(शकयवना)वर्थम् to iv. 1.175—supposing of course that शक and यवन form a genuine part of the कम्बोजादिगण. Such slight acquaintance with the Yavanas, therefore, as Pāṇini betrays cannot have belonged to a time subsequent to Alexander's invasion.

But there is also independent evidence to prove that Pāṇini lived before Alexander's invasion. The internal evidence which compels us to presuppose at least a couple of hundred years between Patañjali and Kātyāyana, and Kātyāyana and Pāṇini—an evidence which even Vincent Smith finds himself compelled to accept (Early Hist. 3rd. ed., p. 451, note 4)—has been indicated in note 1, page 28 below. The most important of external evidence that has been lately brought forward (by Mr. Vishvanāth Kāśhināth Rājavāde in the 'Kesarī' for 30th August 1910) is Pāṇini's mention of the town Sāngala (Gr. Sāngala, Sk. Sāṅkālā) in the sūtra अङ्गलदिग्गज (iv. 2. 75). Pāṇini derives the name of the town from the proper name Saṅkālā. Sāṅkālā is a city completed by (Prince?) Saṅkālā. This city Alexander razed to the ground as a punishment for the stout resistance of its defenders (Vincent Smith, loc. cit., page 75), and Pāṇini could not have thereafter spoken of it in the manner in which he does. Pāṇini, therefore, must have lived before Alexander's invasion.

Another independent evidence is furnished by the sūtra पार्थदिव्यपारदिव्यपारदिव्य (v. 3. 117). Here the Persus or the Persians (and the Asuras or the Assyrians) are mentioned as an अपवर्गसिन्धु or an organization of mercenary fighters, similar to the Greeks of the fourth century B.C., or the Germans of the seventeenth century. The Persians were blotted out as a political power in B. C. 329, and the Assyrians in B. C. 538. Pāṇini's references to these people belong, therefore, probably to a time anterior to these dates.

Lastly, reverting once more to Kātyāyana's vārtika to iv. 1. 175, if the word शक forms a genuine part of the कम्पोजादिगण, it will be necessary to suppose that Pāṇini did not know that the Śakas or Skythians had a country or a kingdom of their own. Now the first King of the 3 [ Sk. Gr. ]

Skythians was Deioces (दिवौकस) whose date is cir. 700 B. C., and Pāṇini must have lived before B. C. 700 or at least not long after that date.

It is of course conceded that none of these arguments are decisive taken singly. Alternative suppositions could be made to explain away some of these facts. Thus Pāṇini may conceivably mention the city of Sangala even after its destruction by Alexander. The Persians and the Assyrians might have turned into mercenary soldiers after the loss of their independence. And in the case of the कम्बोजालुक् sūtra, since Patañjali in his gloss on Kātyāyana's vārtika does not mention the Śakas or the Yavanas, the two words may not possibly form a genuine part of Kātyāyana's addition, and consequently no cogent argument could be based on that circumstance,—waving the alternative possibility of Pāṇini having at times made mistakes. Finally, it is not altogether impossible that the sūtras on which our arguments for Pāṇini's antiquity are based, were taken over by Pāṇini bodily from some of his predecessors, just as, contrariwise, the sūtras from which his modernity is inferred (especially the word यवन in sūtra iv. 1.149) were later interpolations. But in that way anything is possible and we would be reduced to speechlessness.

The upshot of all this is that there is nothing in Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī that is inconsistent with his having flourished in the seventh century B. C., and this negative conclusion is all that I am content to reach for the present, leaving the burden of proof with those who wish to maintain the contrary.

13. Known facts about Pāṇini's life.—As differing from himself Pāṇini mentions (v. 3. 80, vi. 2. 74, etc.) a school of Eastern grammarians, and in later literature he is also known by the name Śālāturiya<sup>1</sup> which is probably derived

<sup>1</sup> शालातुरीयशकटाङ्गजचन्द्रगोमी &c, from गणरत्नमहोदधि stanza 2.

\* from his native place. Cunningham has identified Śālātura with the present Lahaur in the Yusufzai valley. In the days of Hiuen Tsang the valley was known as Udyāna and Śālātura was a prosperous town. To-day it is an obscure deserted village in the North-western Frontier Province, near Attock. In his *Mahābhāṣya*<sup>1</sup> Patañjali gives another bit of biographical information about Pāṇini whom he calls दक्षिपुत्र. Dākshi then was Pāṇini's mother. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* (taraṅga 4) makes Pāṇini a contemporary of Kātyāyana and Vyādi and Indradatta, along with whom he studied at the house of व्यापाय पदं. Not succeeding in his studies Pāṇini practised penance and received from God Śiva the fourteen *pratyāhāra* sūtras. The story about his death from a tiger<sup>2</sup> as recorded in *Pañchatantra*, if based on fact, may or may not refer to our Pāṇini. And this is about all that we know of Pāṇini's personality.

14. Character of Pāṇini's work.—Pāṇini's work consists of nearly four thousand sūtras thrown into eight adhyāyas of four pādas each : hence its name *Ashtādhyāyī*. The text of the sūtras has come down to us almost intact. A doubt exists as to the genuineness of only five<sup>3</sup> of these sūtras, and that is because they are given in the *Mahābhāṣya* as vārtikas to the sūtras just preceding them. When we say that the text has been preserved intact, it is not meant that it is exactly as we find it in any of our current editions. The late Dr. Kielhorn drew attention<sup>4</sup> to the

1 सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दक्षिपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः।

Kielhorn's ed. vol. i. p. 75.

2 मिटो व्याकरणस्य कर्तृरुदरम् प्राणाम्  
मियाम् पाणिनेः। *Tantra li, stanza*  
33.

3 Namely, two between iv. 3.131 and 132 and v. 1.36, vi. 1.62, and vi. 1.100,—the last three being given in the *Mahābhāṣya* as vārtikas to the sūtras immediately preceding. The

tendency to regard as sūtra what is given as vārtika, and vice versa, has created some confusion in the exact enumeration of the sūtras. The whole matter needs to be critically studied. Compare Goldsticker page 29 (Reprint, p. 21), note 28.

4 *Indian Antiquary*, volume xvi, page 179.

fact that the text of the sūtras has not received from the editors all the care that is necessary. All that we mean is that with sufficient pains we can restore from the vārtikas and the Mahābhāṣya the exact words as they were used by Pāṇini himself. Changes have been suggested in more than one place by more than one writer, but they were not actually made until after the times of Chandragomin, the Kāśikākāras, and subsequent writers.

Pāṇini has discussed his entire subject in a manner which is very simple in outline, could we but once grasp it, but which has proved very complex in execution. We may conceive of it in some such way as the following.

Analysing language—and this is what vyākaraṇa literally means—the first element we reach is a sentence, which again consists of a verb in the various tenses and moods, and a number of substantives in case-relations to each other. [The indeclinables we do not count for the present ; they are put in towards the end of 1.4.] Now the forms of verbs that we meet in sentences seem to be made up of an original root-stem and a number of pratyayas or endings, and it is these endings that give the verbs their several modal and temporal significances. These endings, we further notice, group themselves into two sets, and some roots take invariably only one of them, others both, while a number of others change from one to the other under certain circumstances. At the outset then, and to get rid of extra complexity, we dispose of these so-called Atmane-pada and Parasmai-pada prakriyās (i. 3).

Turning *pari passu* to the other element of the sentence, having defined a case-relation (i. 4), we notice that there are often in a sentence substantives without any case termination at all. We explain these as the members of a whole which we technically call a samāsa or a compound. The formation and the varieties of these must

first be explained (ii. 1 and 2), before we actually treat of the kārakas or case-relations (ii. 3).

Taking up the verbs where we left them, we next, after a few preliminary definitions and other cognate matters (ii. 4 end), deal at length with the formation and the uses of the various tenses and moods; and, while we are still on the subject, we explain what are usually known as verbal derivatives, that is to say, those elements of sentences which, although by reason of their case-endings they may seem to belong to the category of substantives, do yet bear a very close affinity in meaning and formation to the root stems from which they are derived (iii. 1-4).

Now we are free to concentrate ourselves on the noun-element of the sentence. The Nairuktas or Etymologists seem to assert that all these nouns are derived from the root-stems, which were the ultimate factors that we reached in our examination of the verb-element of the sentence. Let us examine this theory.

To simplify matters we must, in the first place, dispose of a large number of nouns which are derived from other nouns by the addition of the so-called taddhita affixes (iv.1.76—v.4). Then it is that we reach the substantive divested of all external wrappings. But may not there be some changes *in the very body* of the nouns which we can explain? It is only when we have done that (vi.4—vii.4) that we are at liberty to style the residual as 'अव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि,'—unless, of course, we intend to step outside the rôle of a mere grammarian, as distinguished from a philologist, and try to trace even these back to some more primitive verb-stems. Pāṇini has made his contribution to philology in the form of the Uṇādisūtras (see below, § 16).

This gives us the complete programme of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, and if Pāṇini seems to depart from this in places

it is more for convenience of treatment than for anything else. He begins, as was quite appropriate, with a few definitions and canons of interpretation (i. 1 and 2), and he always takes care to introduce such definitions wherever they are required. Some minor topics usually found included in systematic treatises on grammar, such as the Svara-prakarāṇa (vi. 2) or the Strī-pratyayas, Pāṇini has attempted to put into the places where they would most fit in, the only prominent exception to the above rule being the Sandhi-prakarāṇa, which may conceivably have as well been placed elsewhere than where it occurs (vi, 1 and viii. 2-4), and which in any case need not have been cut into two halves separated from one another by the whole matter of nearly two chapters. His system of pratyāhāras and his anxiety to secure a maximum of brevity are perhaps responsible for this lapse in regular logical sequence. But barring these paltry exceptions there is no doubt that Pāṇini has succeeded remarkably well in welding the whole incongruous mass of grammatical matter into a regular and a consistent whole.<sup>1</sup>

15. **Technical devices used by Pāṇini.**—The difficulty in understanding Pāṇini comes from the very circumstance which Pāṇini himself perhaps considered as his real advance over all his predecessors, namely his attempt to economise expression where conceivably he could do so

1 I do not wish to conceal the fact that the above topical scheme for the whole of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* will be found wanting, if tried in details. It would seem as if Pāṇini was working alternately upon the two main aspects of his problem: the nouns and the verbs; and the present arrangement of the *sūtras* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is the

result of attempting to dovetail the two into a coherent whole, involving in the process many an addition and omission and transposition. It may even be that some sections of the *sūtras* are post-Pāṇiniya interpolations, just as, contrariwise, other sections of the *sūtras* Pāṇini may have bodily taken over from some earlier

without being misunderstood. Why Pāṇini should have elected to strain all his nerves to bring about a result which a student of grammar is often likely to regard as the curse of his lot is more than what we can say. His object may have been to give his students aids to memory, or the sūtra-style may have arisen, as suggested by Goldstücker, in the scarcity of the material for writing. In any case we have reasons to assume that the sūtras from the earliest times were accompanied by a traditional explanation of them.

Let us for a moment dwell a little longer on this point and note the various means whereby Pāṇini attempted to secure terseness and brevity of expression. The foremost amongst the devices used was of course that of the pratyāhāras or elliptical statements, and of the anubandhas or significant endings. The first was effected by means of the fourteen Śiva-sūtras, which, according to tradition, were revealed to him by God Śiva himself by sounding his tabor. As to the second, although the anubandhas used by Pāṇini are peculiar to himself, the device does not appear to have been his invention. The practice already existed, and Pāṇini only utilised it to its utmost limits.<sup>1</sup>

The formation of gaṇas, by which are meant lists of words which undergo similar grammatical changes, also tended towards the same result. Some of these gaṇas are complete and some ākṛiti-gaṇas, that is to say, gaṇas which do not exhaustively enumerate all the words of a

grammars. But for the intrinsic difficulty of the task and for the fact that we have no extant authority earlier than the Mahābhāṣya, which knows the Aṣṭādhyāyī in practically the same form in which we

have it now,—here would be a splendid problem in textual criticism.

1 Compare Mahābhāṣya on vii. 1. 18 : अथवा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयम् । पूर्वसूत्रेषु येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्पाणि क्रियन्ते ।



class, but rather give merely a few leading types. Pāṇini in his sūtras gives only the first word of a gaṇa and they have hence been considerably tampered with since his times. So, although we cannot be certain whether any one word now found in the Gaṇapāṭha existed in Pāṇini's day, still the bulk of our present Gaṇapāṭha may safely be considered as coming from the hands of the grammarian himself.

The next device to secure brevity was the invention of peculiar technical symbols such as च, ष, लृक्, श्लु, लृप् &c. Some of these may have been known to Pāṇini from his predecessors, while others were probably of his own creation. Patañjali distinctly tells us that टि, वृ and भ were known to him already.<sup>1</sup>

In the framing of the sūtras Pāṇini always scrupulously omitted all such words as may be conveniently supplied from sense or from preceding sūtras. The technical name for this process is anuvṛitti, and to secure it he has made some of his sūtras adhikāra-sūtras,<sup>2</sup> that is to say, sūtras which have to be repeated, wholly or in part, each time any of the sūtras dominated by it are to be interpreted. Lastly, in portions of the Ashtādhyāyī he has so arranged the sūtras that where two sūtras appear equally applicable, that which comes earlier in the order of the Ashtādhyāyī must obtain precedence over the one which comes later.<sup>3</sup>

1 Mahābhāṣya on i. 2. 53, and Kaiyaṣa in the same place.

2 Pāṇini shows that a particular sūtra is an adhikāra sūtra by i. the word प्राक् followed by a word in the ablative case occurring in a subsequent sūtra to which the adhikāra is to continue ; as in i. 4. 56 ; 2.

स्वरितेन—*c. g. i. 2.48*, where स्वि has it ; 3. giving a numerical value to some mute letter added to the sūtra ; *c. g. इ (=2)* is supposed to be added to v. 1.30 to show the extent of the adhikāra ; and 4. व्याख्यान-तो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिः ।

3 Pāṇini viii. 2.1—पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् ।

There is yet one more device serving the same end which remains to be mentioned and of which so much was made in later grammatical speculations: namely, the use of the *paribhāṣhās* or canons of interpretation. Some of them are enunciated by Pāṇini himself, but a larger number he found already current in his day, and so used them tacitly, and the task reserved for later grammarians was to discover what facts in Pāṇini's sūtras imply the use of what particular *paribhāṣhās*.<sup>1</sup>

16. *Treatises accessory to Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī*.— In addition to the *Ashtādhyāyī*, Pāṇini put together a *Dhātupāṭha* or list of roots, a *Gaṇapāṭha* or list of words which behave alike grammatically, and *Uṇādi-sūtras* in some form or other. Regarding the first, Pāṇini mentions in the sūtras themselves all the ten classes and even some of their sub-divisions just as they occur in the *Dhātupāṭha*.<sup>2</sup> The *anubandhas* of the *Dhātupāṭha*, further, have the same significance<sup>3</sup> as those of the *Ashtādhyāyī*. These facts tend to establish Pāṇini's authorship of the *Dhātupāṭha*. We have already spoken (p. 23 above) about the *Gaṇapāṭha*, which also in the main belongs to Pāṇini.

The question as to the authorship of the *Uṇādi-sūtras* cannot be so easily settled. They are commonly supposed to be the work of Śākaṭāyana on the basis of statements found in the *Nirukta*<sup>4</sup> and the *Mahābhāṣhya*,<sup>5</sup> according to which Śākaṭāyana agreed with the *नैरुक्तसमय* in deriving

1 For the distinction between the *परिभाषासूत्र* and the *ज्ञापकसूत्र* and the whole question of Pāṇini's use of *paribhāṣhās* see Goldstücker, pp. 106-118 (Reprint, pp. 81-90).

2 Compare i. 3. 1 ; ii. 4. 72 and 75 ; iii. 1. 25, 55, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81; iii. 3. 104; vi. 1. 15 ;

vii. 1. 59 ; vii. 2. 45 ; &c.

3 Westergaard's *Radices Linguae Sanscritae*, pp. 342, 343.

4 *Nirukta* i. 4. 1 : नामान्याख्यात-जानीति शकदायनो नैरुक्तसमयश्च ।

5 Kielhorn, vol. ii. p. 131 : नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते प्याकरणे शकदरप च शोकात् ।

all nouns from roots. Since, however, no work of Śākāṭāyana has come down to us, and since the Śābdānuśāsana which now passes under his name is a comparatively late production (see below, § 52), we cannot say whether this ancient Śākāṭāyana left behind him any work in justification of the views which he doubtless held.

On the other hand the Uṇādi-sūtras exhibit unmistakable marks of Pāṇini's system. They use sañjñās such as ऋस्व, दीर्घ, प्लुत, उदात्त, उपधा, लोप, संप्रसारण, and अभ्यास in the same sense in which Pāṇini uses them. The anubandhas of the Uṇādis are also similar to Pāṇini's. This raises a strong presumption that the Uṇādi-sūtras are the work of Pāṇini himself; and it is further corroborated by the fact that Kātyāyana in more than one place takes objection to the technical application of a rule in the Ashtādhyāyī urging that it does not hold good in the case of particular Uṇādi-sūtras—an objection which could not have been urged unless Kātyāyana regarded Pāṇini to be the author of the Uṇādis; for, Pāṇini was not to be expected to frame rules that would hold good in other people's works.<sup>1</sup> There is no reason why we should not accept this conclusion.

We cannot, however, assign all the Uṇādi-sūtras to Pāṇini's authorship, seeing that in some places their teaching runs counter to the Ashtādhyāyī.<sup>2</sup> The probable view, as suggested by Goldstücker,<sup>3</sup> is that the Uṇādi list was first drawn up by Pāṇini, but that it was afterwards modified or corrected by Kātyāyana. The extent of the changes introduced by the author of the Vārtikas must

1 Examples are vii. 3. 50, vii. 4. 13, viii. 2. 78, and viii. 3. 59. In most of these cases Kātyāyana has the remark उणादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः or words to this effect. Patañjali's defence of Pāṇini is throughout ground-

ed on the fact that उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि ।

2 Thus, Uṇādi-sūtra iv. 226 goes against Pāṇini vi. 2. 139.

3 Pāṇini, his place &c., pp. 170 (Reprint, 130) and 181 (Reprint, 139).

have been so great as to credit him, in popular tradition, with their sole authorship. Thus Vimalasarasvatī,<sup>1</sup> a writer not later than the fourteenth century A. D., and Durgasiṃha<sup>2</sup> who belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era, both assign the authorship of the Uṇādisūtras to Vararuchi alias Kātyāyana. The poet Māgha, however, seems to look upon the Uṇādis as belonging to Pāṇini,<sup>3</sup> though his words are not quite explicit.

The other works appended to Pāṇini's system probably do not come from him. The *Phit-sūtras* are, by unanimous testimony, the work of Śāntanavāchārya, a writer much later than Pāṇini.<sup>4</sup> The *Śikshā* bears on the face of it the stamp of modernness, notwithstanding the fact that a verse from it has found its way into the *Mahābhāṣya*;<sup>5</sup> and the same is true of the *Līngānuśāsana*. Regarding the *Paribhāṣās*, in addition to those given by Pāṇini in his *Ashtādhyāyī* there may have been others current in Pāṇini's time and tacitly employed by him; but no ancient collection of them has come down to us. The *Paribhāṣās* are usually assigned to the authorship of Vyādi who comes between Pāṇini and Patañjali.

1 In the *रूपमात्रा*, the India Office Ms. of which is dated 1381

A. D., we find : उणादिसुट्टी-  
कारणाय वररुचिना वृषगेव सूत्राणि  
यनीतानि । तद्यथा । कृत्वापाणि &c.

2 He begins his com. on the *कृत्* section of the *Kātastra* with the verse : वृत्तादिबदमी रुदाः कृतिना न कृताः कृताः । कारयापनेन ते मुष्टा विबुद्धिमतिषुद्धये ॥ The *kṛits* in this school also include the Uṇādis, as will be seen later.

3 *Śisūpālavadha* xix. 76, and *Maliniūtha's* commentary upon the same.

4 Compare *नानोतिभट्ट* on *किद्वय* ii. 21, where he remarks—पद्मा किद्वयत्राणि पाणिन्यपेक्षया आयु-  
निककर्तृकाणीति परत्वं बोध्यम् ।

5 *Mahābhāṣya*, vol. i. p. 2—दुष्टः शब्दः &c. = दिक्षा, stanza 52—मन्त्रो हीनः &c. This stanza, however, forms a genuine part of the *Mahābhāṣya*, seeing that it is commented upon by भर्तृहरि in his *महाभाष्यटीका*, Kielhorn, vol. ii, preface, p. 13, and is quoted by कुमारिल in the *Tantravārtika*, Benares ed., p. 233.

Between Pāṇini and the next great grammarian, Kātyāyana, came many authors, who attempted, more or less successfully, to emend or justify Pāṇini's rules, and some of the metrical vārtikas found in the Mahābhāṣya probably belong to these predecessors of Kātyāyana. We must needs assume this, unless we are ready to suppose that the considerable interval of time<sup>1</sup> that exists between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was altogether barren of grammatical speculations. Whoever these predecessors were, as our knowledge about their works is next to nothing, we must now pass on to Kātyāyana himself.

17. Kātyāyana: His date.—The Kathāsaritsāgara makes Kātyāyana the contemporary of Pāṇini, or more accurately, the senior of the two; and had not this tradition been to this extent accepted by so great an authority as Max Müller, we might have explained this on the analogy of a row of columns seen in perspective, where the columns which are farthest from us look nearest to each other, for the simple reason that we cannot discern any marks in the interspaces. We must be prepared however to give up this view and presuppose between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana that much time which the nature of the changes in the forms of language above indicated will reasonably require; and unless we assume that language and customs were in an extraordinarily volatile condition in ancient times,

- 1 Goldstücker proves this by showing that 1. grammatical forms current in Pāṇini's time are obsolete in that of Kātyāyana. 2. So also the meanings of words. 3. Words acquire in Kātyāyana's time significances which they had not in Pāṇini's. 4. Literature known to Kātyāyana was unknown to Pāṇini. 5. Writers contemporary with

or little separated in time from Pāṇini are looked upon by Kātyāyana as very ancient, e.g. Yājñavalkya; on his last point the Kuṣika remarks: याज्ञवल्क्यादयो हि न चिरकाला इत्याख्यानेषु वार्ता. For fuller particulars see Goldstücker on Pāṇini, pp. 122-157 (Reprint, pp. 94-120).

about two to three centuries would not by any means be too great an interval that we can suppose to have elapsed between them. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot therefore, unfortunately, arrive at a greater approximation than 500-350 B. C., nearer to the latter limit if the relation of Kāṭyāyana with the Nandas mentioned in Kathāsaritsāgara has any basis in fact.

18. Nature of Kāṭyāyana's work.—Kāṭyāyana's work, the *vārtikas*, are meant to correct, modify, or supplement the rules of Pāṇini wherever they were or had become partially or totally inapplicable. There are two works<sup>1</sup> of his which aim at this object. The earlier<sup>2</sup> is the *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya*, a work dealing with the grammar and orthography of the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*. Being limited by the nature of his subject to Vedic forms of language only, Kāṭyāyana has herein given his criticisms on such of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini as fell within his province. Taking up the suggestion which dawned upon him probably in the course of his *Prātiśākhya*, Kāṭyāyana next subjected Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī* to a searching criticism. Since here his object was not to explain Pāṇini but find faults in his grammar, he has left unnoticed many *sūtras* that to him appeared valid. Of the nearly 4,000 *sūtras* Kāṭyāyana

1 Kāṭyāyana is credited with the authorship of a third work in *sūtra* style, the *Kāṭyāyana Śrauta sūtras* (published in the Chaukhamba Sanskrit series), but it has nothing to do with grammar. It might have given Kāṭyāyana practice in writing *sūtras*, but that is all.

2 That the *Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya* is posterior to and based upon Pāṇini is clear from the fact i. that many of the *sūtras*

there given are identical with those of Pāṇini. ii. The *pratyāhāras* and *anubandhas* are in most cases those of Pāṇini. iii. Where there are changes they are improvements upon Pāṇini, such improvements as Kāṭyāyana later embodied with occasional changes for the better in his *vārtikas*. See Goldstücker, Pāṇini, pp. 199 (Reprint, pp. 153) and the following.

noticed over 1,500 in about 4,000 vārtikas. We must add to these the considerable number of cases where Kātyāyana has criticised Pāṇini's rules in his Prātiśākhya. Some of these criticisms he repeats as vārtikas, generally saying there what he had to say in a more correct form.<sup>1</sup>

Kātyāyana has not merely stated his doubts and objections in regard to some of Pāṇini's rules, but in most cases has shown how they can be solved or removed.<sup>2</sup> At the same time he always takes care to prove his propositions, and when suggesting an alternative course, he always tells us that he does so. Notwithstanding this there are, according to Patañjali's showing, a good many cases where his criticisms are misplaced, or are the result of misunderstanding Pāṇini.

Some of the vārtikas are written in prose, while others are thrown into a metrical form. In a vast number of cases Kātyāyana has clearly indicated the rules of Pāṇini to which his remarks refer by repeating the sūtras *verbatim*,<sup>3</sup> or with slight changes,<sup>4</sup> or by taking its most important<sup>5</sup> or introductory<sup>6</sup> word. Cross references to his own vārtikas he gives by उक्तं शेषे, उक्तं वा, or उक्तं पूर्व्वेण.<sup>7</sup>

Kātyāyana, in that he meant to write a criticism on Pāṇini was compelled to adhere to the latter's terminology. Notwithstanding this fact he has used स्वर for अच्,

1 For Pāṇini's—

अदर्शनं लोपः १-१-६०

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य १-१-६७

मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः १-१-८

Kātyāyana in the Prātiśākhya has—

वर्णस्याऽदर्शनं लोपः १-१४१

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्यादेः १-३५

मुखानुनासिकाकरणोऽनुनासिकः १-७५

- 2 Usually by phrases such as उक्तं  
वा. Compare Indian Anti-  
quary, volume v, Note 2 on  
the Mahābhāṣya, where Kiel-  
horn discusses the whole sub-  
ject.

3 Vārtika 1 to sūtra ii. 1. 33 ;

4 Vārtika 1 to sūtra iii. 1. 84 ;

5 Vārtika 1 to sūtra v. 2. 47 ;

6 Vārtika 1 to sūtra vi. 4. 14 ;

7 Vārtika 2 to sūtra iii. 4. 79 ;

—to give but one instance of  
each.

व्यञ्जन for ह्रस्व, समानाक्षर for अक्षर, भवन्ती and अवतनी for लङ् and लुङ्. This fact, together with the statement in the Kathāsaritsāgara<sup>1</sup> to the effect that he was a follower of the Aindra school, makes it probable that he belonged to a school, of grammar different from Pāṇini's. Patañjali distinctly calls him a 'Southerner'.<sup>2</sup>

19. Vārtikakāras before and after Kātyāyana.—As observed before (p. 28), Kātyāyana had several predecessors from whose works he may have taken many suggestions. In his Prātisākhya he refers to Śākaṭāyana<sup>3</sup> and Śākalya,<sup>4</sup> names already quoted by Pāṇini; while in the vārtikas he refers by name to Vājapyāyana,<sup>5</sup> Vyādi,<sup>6</sup> and Paushkarnasādi,<sup>7</sup> and designates a number of others under the general appellation of एके, केचिन्, and so forth.<sup>8</sup> Some of these latter must have been scholars who, like Kātyāyana himself, subjected the wording of the sūtras of Pāṇini to a critical examination. Vyādi we know, was the author of an extensive work called Saṅgraha, referred to in the Mahābhāshya<sup>9</sup> which is in fact based upon it.

Kātyāyana was followed in his task by a vast number of writers. The names of some of these are preserved for us by Patañjali.<sup>10</sup> To that list we must add the author or authors of the metrical vārtikas (over 250) that are quoted in the Mahābhāshya. Some of these belong to Patañjali himself, others probably to Kātyāyana, while still others, to either the predecessors or successors of Kātyāyana.<sup>11</sup> That

1 Taraṅga iv. and elsewhere : सेन  
मण्डमैन्दं तदस्मद्व्याकरणं सुवि ।

2 Mahābhāshya, vol. 1, p 8, line 2 :  
मिपतद्धिता दाक्षिणात्याः ।

3 iii. 8 : प्रत्ययसवर्णं मुदि शाकटायनः ।

4 iii. 9 : अविकारं शाकट्यः शपसेषु ।

5 Vārtika 35 to i. 2. 64.

6 Vārtika 45 to i. 2. 64.

7 Vārtika 3 to viii. 4. 48.

8 Vārtika 4 to ii. 1. 1, &c.

9 Vol. i. p. 6, line 2; The Vākya.

padhya describes the Mahā-  
bhāshya as सङ्ग्रहमतिकञ्चुक-

10 Namely, भारद्वाजीय, सीनाग, कु-  
णरवादव, वादव, सौर्यभगवत् and  
कुणि.

11 The question as to the author-  
ship of these श्लोकवार्तिक is  
discussed in the Indian Anti-  
quary vol. v, Note 4 on the  
Mahābhāshya.



some of them at least presuppose Kātyāyana is proved by kārīkā 1 on Pāṇini iii. 2.118, which quotes one of his vārtikas. Unfortunately none of these successors of Kātyāyana are known to us otherwise than through quotations made by Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya. We must therefore next pass on to Patañjali, with whom ends the first period in the history of the Pāṇiniya school.

20. Patañjali: His date and personal history.—The date of Patañjali the author of the Mahābhāṣya is not subject to as vague a guess-work as that of Kātyāyana or Pāṇini. At one time scholars were inclined to make him a contemporary of Christ, but Dr. Bhandarkar has fought through the pages of the Indian Antiquary for an earlier date; and it has been now accepted by scholars all round, and formed, in fact, until the recent discovery of the Kauṭīliya, the one definite landmark in the history of ancient Indian Literature, by a reference to which the dates of Patañjali's predecessors and successors could be approximately determined. The main arguments for assigning him to 150 B. C. are these: i. The instance इह पुष्पमित्रं राजयामः in such a context that the event must have occurred within the lifetime of Patañjali. ii. Similarly the instances अरुणयवनः साकेतं and अरुणयवने मध्यमिकाम्, which refer to a siege by Menander. iii. As a collateral evidence, the mention of a financial expedient of the Mauryas.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the personal history of Patañjali very little is known. He was a contemporary of Pushpamitra and probably much honoured by him for his learning. It is usual to suppose that the epithets Gonardīya and Gonikāputra used in the Mahābhāṣya<sup>2</sup> are his own other names

1 The references are : Indian Antiquary i. 299-302 ; ii. 57, 69, 94, 206-10, 238, and 362 ; xv. 80-84 ; xvi. 156, 172 ; and

Goldstücker, pp. 228-38 (Reprint, pp. 175-183).

2 Vol. i. pp. 78, 91, 336, &c,

derived from his native place and the name of his mother, but it has been shown by Rājendralāl Mitra<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Kielhorn<sup>2</sup> that they are distinct authors, and as such they are quoted by so early a writer as Vātsyāyana the author of the Kāma-sūtra.<sup>3</sup> The best account of Patañjali's time, if not of his person, is to be found in the Mahābhāṣya itself; and a detailed exposition of the religious, historical, geographical, social, and literary data as resulting from the contents of that work is to be found in the Indische Studien, xiii. pp. 293-502.

We have stated that Patañjali was not the first to deal with Kātyāyana in the same way in which the latter dealt with Pāṇini. Patañjali was perhaps the most successful if not also the last of the number. Besides giving his *ishṭis* (desiderata) on Pāṇini's sūtras, wherever Kātyāyana had omitted to give vārtikas, his chief aim was to vindicate Pāṇini against the often unmerited attacks of Kātyāyana; and in this he has achieved a remarkable success, although in some places he overdoes his defence and becomes decidedly unfair to Kātyāyana. The style of his work is unparalleled in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature, only the Śāstra-bhāṣya of Śaṅkara being worthy of a mention by its side.

Regarding the text of the Mahābhāṣya the traditions recorded in the Rājataranāgiṇī<sup>4</sup> and in the Vākya-padīya<sup>5</sup> state that it had become so hopelessly corrupt in the time of king Abhimanyu of Kāśmīr that only one authentic Ms. of it existed throughout India, from which all subsequent copies of it have been derived. The work, like

1 Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. Lii. p. 269.

2 Indian Antiquary xiv, p. 40.

3 See Kāma-sūtra, p. 67 (Kāvyamālā edition).—According to भोजिकार्य the गार्हपत्य are di-

vided into four classes, while गौर्हपत्य divides them into eight.

4 Vide note 5 on p. 13 above.

5 Kāṇḍa ii, stanzas 484-90.

Pāṇini's *Ashtādhyāyī*, is divided into eight *adhyāyas* of four *pādas* each, each *pāda* being further subdivided into from one to nine *āhnikas*. The *Mahābhāshya* does not notice all the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, but only such as were noticed by Kātyāyana, as also such others as Patañjali himself considered incomplete and capable of improvement. Whether the remaining were likewise commented upon by Patañjali or not is more than what we can say.<sup>1</sup>

21. Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* as marking the end of the first period in the history of the Pāṇinīya school.—Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali are traditionally known as the “three sages,” *muni-trayam*, who gave the law to the science of grammar. Each took for his study the whole field of the living language, and the contribution made by each to the stock of inherited knowledge and ideas is quite considerable. Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* for a time marked the highest point in the development of the science of grammar. So far as grammatical speculations go, the next three or four centuries—which coincided with the bloom of the classical Prākṛit literature and which also witnessed the Scythian invasions on a large scale—are a perfect blank to us ; and our next leap from Patañjali should be to Chandragomin, the founder of the Chāndra school.

22. Chandragomin and his work.—Chandragomin<sup>2</sup> was a close student of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, and for his work he utilized all their labours, trying in several places, in the light of the changes that had come over

1 A fanciful explanation of the fact that some of Pāṇini's *sūtras* are not to be found in the *Mahābhāshya* is given in the *Patañjala-charita* (Kāvya-mālā, No. 51), where it is said that some of the leaves of the originally complete copy of

the *Mahābhāshya* were blown away by the wind and others got disarranged. Another account makes a monkey वटदल-चयत्रासलोलः responsible for the accident.

2 For a more detailed account of him see §§ 42 and following.

Sanskrit since the days of the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* to improve upon them in the form as well as the matter of their *sūtras* and *vārtikas* and *iṣṭis*. Chandragomin was a Buddha, and one of his objects in writing a new grammar must have been to supply, for the benefit of members of his Church, a grammar that would be free from the traditional Brahmanical element. The more orthodox grammarians, however, were not willing to accept his innovations. They accordingly tried to invent new maxims of interpretation, tending to show, after a very diligent analysis of the works of the three great sages, that such defects as Chandragomin and others tried to find in the Pāṇiniya grammar were in it already implicitly provided for. This procedure was no doubt unhistorical, but so was that of Kātyāyana or of Patañjali. As yet we cannot fix upon any great leading names,<sup>1</sup> but the traditional elaboration of the system of *jñāpakas* and *Paribhāṣhās* must be referred to the time somewhere between 470 (the date of Chandragomin) and 650 (the date of one of the authors of the *Kāikā*).

23 The *Kāikā* of Jayāditya and Vāmana. Itsing, the Chinese pilgrim, speaks of Jayāditya of Kāmir as the author of a grammatical work called *vṛtti-sūtra*, which it is usual to identify with the *Kāikā*, a joint work of Jayāditya and Vāmana. Itsing tells us that Jayāditya died about A. D. 660; and if the above identification is correct,<sup>2</sup> this gives us the date of the *Kāikā*.

1 Unless it be those of Śaṅkara, Nāgārjuna, and others mentioned in the *Vākyapadīya*, Kātyāyana's second, starts 487.

2 Itsing's account of the *vṛtti-sūtra* by Jayāditya may not after all refer to the *Paribhāṣa*. He speaks of a com. on the *vṛtti-sūtra*

by Patañjali and writes as if Jayāditya completed the *vṛtti-sūtra* in 660. However, we cannot bring the *Kāikā* any earlier than 650 A. D., seeing that on iv. 3. 88 it mentions the *Vākyapadīya* by name. Jayāditya then appears to be

The Kāśikā was once believed to be the work of one author variously called Vāmana, Jayāditya, or Vāmana-Jayāditya. It has now been found out that they are two distinct persons. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita clearly distinguishes between their views,<sup>1</sup> and the concurrent testimony of Mss. from all parts of India assigns to Jayāditya the authorship of the first five chapters of it, while the last three belong to Vāmana, who probably came soon after Jayāditya and certainly before the time of Jinendrabuddhi, who comments upon the whole work.<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the personality of the authors of the Kāśikā little definite is known. Neither of them begins his work with any maṅgala, both exhibit an unorthodox tendency to introduce changes into the wording of the sūtras, and Jayāditya at any rate refers on i. i. 36, with evident satisfaction, to the work of the Lokāyatikas.<sup>3</sup> These reasons tend to show that the author or authors were Bauddhas. It is supposed that Jayāditya is to be identified with king Jayāpīḍa of Kāśmīr, whose minister, as mentioned by Kalhaṇa, was a person named Vāmana.<sup>4</sup> This may not be strictly accurate. Dr. Bühler believed that the author was a native of Kāśmīr.

at least a contemporary of Bhartrihari the author of the Vākyapadīya. Vāmana who probably wrote the last three chapters of the Kāśikā came soon after Jayāditya, and Jinendrabuddhi, the author of the Nyāsa on the Kāśikā came probably before 750, seeing that he is quoted by so early an author as Bhāmaha. Compare also J. B. B. R. A. S. for 1909, p. 94; Indian Antiquary, xli, pp. 232-237 and xlii, pp. 253-264.

Pāṇini v. 4. 42: एतत् सर्वं जयादित्यमतेनोक्तम् । वामनस्त्वाह &c.

2 On the question of the different authorship of the Kāśikā see Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1883-84, p. 58.

3 See Bala Śāstri's edition of the Kāśikā, p. 62—चार्वी बुद्धिः । तत्सम्बन्धादाचार्योऽपि चार्वी । स लोकायते शास्त्रे पदार्थान् नयते । उपपत्तिभिः स्थिरकृत्य शिष्येभ्यः प्रापयति । युक्तिभिः स्थाप्यमानाः सम्मानिताः पूजिता भवन्ति ।

4 Dr. Bühler's Report for 1875-76, p. 73.

1 Compare the प्रौढमनोरमा on

The *Kāśikā* is a running commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and its merit consists in the lucid manner in which it has explained the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, clearly indicating all the *anuvṛttis* and giving numerous illustrations for each rule. Sometimes the *Kāśikā* gives us information which we could not possibly have obtained from any other source. Thus on *sūtra* vii.3.95 it gives us a rule of *Āpiśali*,<sup>1</sup> the grammarian who preceded Pāṇini and whose work must consequently have been known to the authors of the *Kāśikā*. On *sūtra* vii. 2. 17 it gives us a *vārtika* of the *Saunāgasya* other than those quoted in the *Mahābhāṣya*. These facts, however scanty by themselves, corroborate the tradition of the existence of a vast number of grammarians prior and subsequent to the time of Kātyāyana.

24. The indebtedness of the *Kāśikā* to Chandragomin.—The object of the *Kāśikā* was to embody in the Pāṇiniya system all the improvements that were made by Chandragomin. As the result of an exhaustive analysis of the text of Pāṇini's *sūtras* as given in the *Kāśikā-vṛtti* Dr. Kielhorn<sup>2</sup> sums up his conclusions thus : " The text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as given in the *Kāśikā* differs in the case of 58 rules from the text known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Ten of these 58 rules are altogether fresh additions; nine are a result of separating (by *yoga-vibhāga*) the original 8 *sūtras* into 17. In 19 cases new words have been inserted into the original *sūtras*, while in the rest there are other changes in the wording &c. of the *sūtras*."

Some of these changes had been already suggested by Kātyāyana or Patañjali, especially in the matter of *yoga-vibhāga*. The additional words also were mostly taken

1 See above, page 9 note 3.

2 See *Indian Antiquary* vol. xvi, pp. 172 and following.

from the vārtikas or from the notes in the Mahābhāṣya, as well as from some of the added rules. Most of the new matter found in the Kāśikā can, however, be traced to Chandragomin, from whose work he diligently draws his material without anywhere acknowledging his sources.<sup>1</sup> This fact, as before pointed out, settles 470 A. D. as the upper limit for the date of the Kāśikā.

25. Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa on the Kāśikā.—An excellent commentary on the Kāśikā called Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā or Kāśikā-nyāsa is the work of Jinendrabuddhi,<sup>2</sup> who styles himself श्रीबोधिसत्त्वदेशीयाचार्य. This informs us about his religion ; as to his date he cannot be later than 750 A. D., seeing that he is referred to by Bhāmaha, who says that a poet should never employ a compound in which a verbal derivative in वृच् is compounded with a noun in the genitive case, and adds that he should not support such usage by the authority of the Nyāsa, which presumably is the same as this work.<sup>3</sup>

The Nyāsa follows closely on the lines of the Kāśikā and tries to incorporate into itself whatever new was produced upto its time.<sup>4</sup> It is a pity that we as yet

1 Thus on iv. 2. 138 Kāśikā gives the vārtika वेणुकादिभ्यश्चण्वक्तव्यः ॥ which is Chāndra sūtra iii. 2.61 ; the kārīkū on v. 4.77 in the Kāśikā embodies sūtras iv. 4. 72 and 73, of Chandra, the Kāśikā further remarking तदेतद् सर्वं योगविभागं कृत्वा साधयन्ति ; Pāṇini's sūtra viii. 3. 118, सदेः परस्य लिटि, Chandra changes into सदिस्व-ञ्जेलिटि (vi. 4.98), following herein a vārtika of Kūṭyāyana (सदो लिटि प्रतिषेधे स्वञ्जेरुपसंख्यानम्) ; while Kāśikā reads

the sūtra itself in conformity with the Chāndra vyākaraṇa. Many more similar instances are given by Liebhich in his edition of the Chāndra vyākaraṇa.

2 Govt. Or. Mss. Library, Madras, Ms. no. 941 gives the name as स्थविरजिनेन्द्र.

3 See, however, the references cited at the end of page 35, note 2 above.

4 Compare—अन्यतः सारमादाय कृतैषा काशिका यथा । वृत्तिस्तस्या यथा-शक्ति क्रियते पाञ्जिका तथा ॥

possess not a single edition of this ancient commentary. There is no complete Ms. of it in any hitherto known collection, but the several fragments may yield a tolerably complete text. And the commentary is well worth the labours of a critical editor, to judge from such fragments of it as were available to me at the Deccan College Mss. Library.

26. Haradatta's Padamañjarī on the Kāśikā.—There is another valuable commentary on the Kāśikā called the Padamañjarī by Haradatta. Haradatta was, as he himself informs us, the son of Padma-(or Rudra-)kumāra, and younger brother of Agnikumāra; while his preceptor was one Aparājita. He was probably a native of the Tamil country and may subsequently have acquainted himself with the Telugu literature, as the instance of a vernacular word (कचिसंघ) given by him seems to indicate.<sup>2</sup> The Padamañjarī is quoted in the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti and by Mallinātha, and itself quotes Māgha.<sup>3</sup> According to a portion of the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa giving the history of Haradatta (who is considered as an incarna-

1 Professor K. B. Pathak tells me that the Ms. in the Jain Maṭha at Śrāvana Belgola, which is put down in the lists as a Nyāsa on the Śakaṭāyana-sabdhānusāsana, is really a Ms. of the above work, and goes as far as viii. 3. 11. I understand that Prof. Sriah Chandra Chakravarti of Rajshahi College, Bengal, has been able to put together a tolerably complete copy of the text from Mss. collected from all corners of India. He is also going to publish the work

shortly (1912). Maitreyarakṣita is reported to have written a commentary on the Nyāsa, but I have not been able to verify the statement.

2 These and the following details are taken from Sheshagiri Shāstri's Report on the search of Sanskrit and Tamil Mss. for 1893-94, Madras, No. 2.

3 Benares edition (Reprint from the Paṇḍit) pages 657; 715 line 2 (=Māgha iii. 74), &c. Kirāta ii. 35 is quoted on page 237 line 8; and Bhāṭṭi-kāvya on page 541 line 16.



tion of God Śiva,) we learn that he died 3979 years after the beginning of Kali, which corresponds to 878 A. D.

This account of the Bhavishyottara Purāṇa probably does not refer to our Haradatta, seeing that it gives Vāsudeva as the name of Haradatta's father.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Haradatta's Padamañjarī seems to be later than and partly based upon Kaiyyāṭa's Mahābhāṣhya-Pradīpa,<sup>2</sup> and we cannot assign to Kaiyyāṭa so early a date as cir. 800 A. D., which would be necessary if Haradatta is to be put at 878. Probably, therefore, Haradatta belongs to somewhere about 1100 A. D.

27. **Bhartrihari's Vākyapadīya.**—From Padamañjarī, the commentary on the Kāśikā, we go back to the writer who according to Itsing was a contemporary of Jayāditya, one of the authors of the Kāśikā; and this is no other than Bhartrihari, the celebrated poet and grammarian whose date of death, according to the Chinese pilgrim, is 650 A. D. It is not necessary for us to consider in this place the different problems suggested by his name. He may or may not have been a king, a brother of a king or the author of the Śatakas. Itsing's account unmistakably

1 Mr. Sheshagiri Shāstri suggests, loc.cit., that Haradatta's father may have been a Vaiṣṇava to begin with and may have later changed his name and become a Śaiva, just as Haradatta himself changed his original name of Sudarśana into the one which is more generally known. Some such change of name may appear to have been hinted at in the introductory stanza—  
यश्चिराय हरदत्त-  
संज्ञया विश्रुतो दशसु दिक्षु दक्षिणः ।  
उज्जहार पद्मञ्जरीमसौ शद्दशास्त्र-  
सहकारपादपात् ॥ All this is in-

genious but not convincing, and it must yield to the chronological evidence given below.

2 Compare Padamañjarī on ii. 1.66 (Benares ed. p. 384 ll. 5 ff.) with Pradīpa on the same place (Nir. Sag. ed. of the Mahābhāṣhya, part ii. p. 405). So also compare Padamañjarī on ii. 1. 70 (p. 385) with Pradīpa on the same place (ibid, p. 414). Many more instances can be likewise adduced to show the indebtedness of Padamañjarī to the Pradīpa.

refers to Bhartrihari the author of the Vākyapadīya and consequently also to the author of a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya. Regarding the latter work all that we can say is that it was probably never completed by the author. The Gaṇaratna-mahodadhī states that the commentary extends only to the first three pādas.<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Bühler fragments of Bhartrihari's comment exist in the Royal Library at Berlin<sup>2</sup> and in the Deccan. If they exist in the Deccan, they have not so far come to light.

The Vākyapadīya is a metrical discourse on the philosophy of grammar, distributed into three chapters: the Brahma or Āgama-kāṇḍa, the Vākya-kāṇḍa, and the Pada or Prakīrṇa-kāṇḍa. The chief historical interest of the work attaches itself to the account given in about seven stanzas, towards the end of the second kāṇḍa, confirming the statement of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī about the fate of the Mahābhāṣya.<sup>3</sup> The passage also contains the earliest reference to the Chāndra school, and mentions Baiji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha as grammarians who went before Chandrāchārya or Chandragomin, and who by their uncritical methods of study contributed not a little to the neglect of the Mahābhāṣya during the early centuries of the Christian era.

28. Kalyaṇa's Pradīpa as marking the end of the second period in the history of the Pāṇinīya school.—Between Bhartrihari (650 A. D.) and Kaiyaṇa (the next great writer of the Pāṇinīya school whom we notice and who probably belongs to the eleventh century) we have no names of any consequence to mention. The period was indeed marked by a more or less general grammatical activity, but that

1. Compare com. on Gaṇaratna-mahodadhī, st. 3, — भर्तृहरिः नृप-  
भार्यप्रियादाय नृपत्यनार।

the Mahābhāṣya, vol. ii.

3 India: what can it teach us?  
p. 352; Indian Antiquary for  
1876, p. 215.

2 See preface to Kielhorn's ed. of  
6 [Sk. Gr.]

was confined to the systems of grammar outside the Pāṇiniya school. These we shall notice in another place. For Pāṇini's school Kaiyyaṭa's Pradīpa marks the end of the second period of development.

Kaiyyaṭa was probably, as his name indicates, a native of Kāśmīr. His father was Jaiyyaṭa surnamed Upādhyāya, and his preceptor was one Maheśvara. In a commentary on Mammāṭa's Kāvyaaprakāśa written by Bhīmasena (Samvat 1779=1722 A. D.) Kaiyyaṭa along with Auvāṭa has been spoken of as the disciple and even the younger brother of Mammāṭa.<sup>1</sup> This statement is inaccurate if by Auvāṭa is meant the author of the Bhāṣhya on the Yajurveda-Saṁhitā, whose father was Vajraṭa; and since Bhīmasena is a late writer we need not likewise attach much importance to the chronological relation between Mammāṭa and Kaiyyaṭa as suggested by him. Mammāṭa was, we know, a great grammarian as well as a rhetorician who lived cir. 1100, and there is nothing improbable in his being a teacher to even Kaiyyaṭa. Kaiyyaṭa's lower limit is given by the circumstance that he is quoted in the Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha (cir. 1300).<sup>2</sup>

Regarding the nature of Kaiyyaṭa's performance it is not necessary in this place to say much. He tells us in his introduction that he followed on the lines of Hari, that is, Bhartrihari,<sup>3</sup> and he may be pronounced to have been fairly successful on the whole in the task of interpreting the Mahābhāṣhya. His work has been,

1 श्रीमान् कैयट औवरो ह्यवरो जो यच्छा-  
त्रतामागतो भोष्योद्धि निगमं यथा-  
क्रमसमुद्वाख्याय सिद्धिं गतः ॥

2 Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue,  
p. 247 a.

3 Are we to suppose, therefore,  
that Kaiyyaṭa had a complete  
manuscript of Bhartrihari's  
commentary on the Mahā-

bhāṣhya before him? In that  
case the 'Tripadī' alluded to  
in the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhī  
(above, p. 41) must be either  
a distinct work, or may be no  
other than the Vākya-padīya  
itself, which is in three chap-  
ters.

in turn, commented upon by Nāgojibhaṭṭa the author of the *Pradīpodyota*, by Nārāyaṇa who has written a *Vivaraṇa* upon it, and by Īśvarānanda the pupil of Satyānanda who has composed another similarly named commentary. None of these writers seems to be earlier than A. D. 1600. We have already spoken of Haradatta's *Padamañjarī*, which is based upon Kaiyyaṭa's work.

For most of these writers who followed Kaiyyaṭa there was very little original work in the Pāṇiniya school that was left to be done. Sanskrit had long been established as a classical language; it ceased to be influenced by current speech in any vital manner. Hence in grammar there was no occasion for any creative work; and even the work of critical elaboration had well-nigh run its course. This was also the period of the early Muhammedan incursions, which necessarily preceded their permanent occupation of India; and it was, as was to be expected, marked by a general decadence of literature, reflecting a corresponding ebb in the tide of social and political activities. The study of grammar, accordingly, succumbed to the operation of the usual laws of demand and supply. In the next century or two there may have been petty commentators here and there, and, possibly, some really great writers, but none of their names even have survived the ravages of time. Later when the clouds cleared a little and literature began to flourish, the demand—feeble at first—which some of the enlightened Muhammedan rulers created was adequately met by popular schools of grammar, like the *Sārasvata*, which now sprang into existence.

29. *Recasts of the Aṣṭādhyāyī : The Rūpamāñī.*—It was clear now that if the Pāṇiniya grammar was to keep abreast of the spirit of the times, it should have been remoulded and presented in easier and less repellent style.

The earliest and on that ground the simplest of these recasts of the *Ashtādhyāyī* that has come down to us is the *Rūpamālā* of *Vimalasarasvatī*, a writer who, if the date given in a Ms. of the work be true,<sup>1</sup> must be placed not later than A. D. 1350.

The arrangement of the work is in the style of later *Kaumudīs*. After treating of *प्रत्याहार*, *संज्ञा*, and *परिभाषा* the author deals with *सन्धि* in four sections : *स्वरसन्धि*, *प्रकृतिभाव*, *व्यञ्जन*, and *विसर्गसन्धि* ; then follows declension in six parts: i. *अजन्तमाला*, ii. *इलन्तमाला*, iii. *सर्वनाममाला*, iv. *संख्याभाग*, v. irregular words like *सखि*, *पति* &c., and vi. Vedic irregularities. After these come *निपात*s, their meanings and grammatical peculiarities, *स्त्रीप्रत्यय*s, and *कारक* relations. The longest section deals with the *आख्यात*s, the peculiarities of each *लकार* being arranged under separate headings; and as an appendix we have *लकारार्थमाला* and *तद्धादिनियमभाग*, the last giving the circumstances under which verbs change their *पद*s. The *कृत्* and the *तद्धित* occupy the next two sections, the work concluding with a chapter on *समास*.

It has been thought worth while giving the above details as they help us to show in what respects the later *Kaumudīs* are an improvement on this their prototype. *Vimalasarasvatī*'s manner of presenting his whole subject is quite simple and attractive, if it cannot also claim to be exhaustive. The merit of later works consists mainly in a more systematic arrangement and a somewhat more detailed treatment. All the same, the credit for having conceived the idea of such a recast and carried it into exe-

1 India office Ms. No. 612, which is stated to have been written in *Samvat* 1437 = 1379 A.D. The same Ms. gives *Sam.* 1467 as another date. A Ms. deposited at the Deccan College

(No. 209 of 1879-80) is dated *Samvat* 1507. *Vimalasarasvatī* is quoted by *Amṛitabhārati*, a writer of the *Sūrasvata* school, a manuscript of whose work bears the date A. D. 1496.

cution must ungrudgingly be given to the author of the *Rūpamālā*.<sup>1</sup>

30. *Rāmachandra's Prakriyākaumudī and its commentaries.*—Next in chronological order comes the *Prakriyākaumudī* of *Rāmachandra*, a writer who probably belongs to the first half of the fifteenth century. He was a *Dakshini Brahman*, the son of a *Kṛishṇāchārya*, and was eminently versed in grammar and *Vedānta* and astronomy, in all of which he has written original works of his own.<sup>2</sup> The *Prakriyākaumudī* is supposed to have been the model for *Bhaṭṭoji's Siddhāntakaumudī*.

There are several commentaries extant on *Rāmachandra's Prakriyākaumudī* of which the most famous is the *Prasāda* of *Viṭṭhalāchārya*. The earliest Ms. of the *Prasāda* is dated *Saṃvat* 1605-6 = A. D. 1548-9; hence *Viṭṭhalāchārya* cannot be later than 1525 A. D. As a grammarian *Viṭṭhala* is disparaged by *Bhaṭṭoji*, who often refers to him. *Viṭṭhala*, in his turn, quotes from, among others, *Kaiyyāṭa*, *Trilochanadāsa*, *Kshirasvāmin*, *Durgasimha*, *Jinendrabuddhi*, *Bhartrihari*, *Vāmana*, *Haradatta*, and *Bopadeva*.<sup>3</sup> *Viṭṭhala* tells us that he was the son of *Nṛsimhāchārya* and grandson of *Rāmakṛishṇāchārya*, while his own son was named *Lakshmidharāchārya*.

Another commentary on the *Prakriyākaumudī* that demands a passing notice is the *Prakriyāprakāśa* of *Śeṣha-Kṛishṇa* the son of *Śeṣha-Nṛsimhasūri*. As he tells us in the introduction to his commentary, which extends to 46 stanzas, he composed this comment for the benefit of Prince *Kalyāṇa*, the son of a (petty) king of *Patrapuṣṭja*,

1 *Bhaṭṭoji* *Dikshita* acknowledges his indebtedness to him in that he quotes him in the *Prasāda-Manoramā*.

details, for which see *Bendall's Cat. of Mss. in the Durbar Library of Nepal*, p. vii.

2 The information comes from *Viṭṭhala* who also gives other

3 *Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue* gives these and other names.

a small place in the Duab formed by the Ganges and the Yamunā. Śesha-Krishna, as we shall presently see, was the preceptor of Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita, and must accordingly be placed cir. 1600 A. D.<sup>1</sup>

31. Bhaṭṭoji's Siddhāntakaumudī and other works.—We next pass on to the deservedly famous Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita,—a work which is remarkable not only by reason of the host of commentaries and sub-commentaries that it called into being, nor again because it is at present practically the only popular introduction to Pāṇini's grammar, but also owing to the fact—strange as it may appear—that it has eventually ousted Pāṇini himself and most of the other ancient authors of grammar, as also the numerous new schools that had lately sprung into existence. The work is too well known to need any detailed exposition. From the list of previous authors quoted by Bhaṭṭoji in this and his other works<sup>2</sup> we can gather that he freely availed himself of such help as he could possibly get. His indebtedness to one work, however, we learn, only from Meghavijaya, the author of Haima-Kaumudī, who tells us that Bhaṭṭoji's Kaumudī was largely modelled upon Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.<sup>3</sup>

Bhaṭṭoji was the son of Lakshmīdhara and the brother of Raṅgoji Dikshita, while his son was variously known as Bhānu-dikshita, Vireśvara-dikshita or Rāmāśrama. Regarding the other details of Bhaṭṭoji's life Jagannātha, the court pandit of the Emperor Shahajahan, informs us in his Manoramākuchamardīnī that Bhaṭṭoji was the pupil of Śesha-Krishna, to whose memory he does

1 Other commentaries on प्रक्रिया-  
कौमुदी are सार by काशीनाथ,  
अमृतसूति by वारणावनेशशास्त्रिन्,  
व्याकृति by विश्वकर्मशास्त्रिन् &c.

2 An exhaustive list is given in

Aufrecht's Oxford Catalogue,  
p. 162.

3 Peterson's report iii, p. 291. I  
am not sure about the truth of  
this statement.

very scant justice in his Praudha-Manoramā. As Jagannātha himself was the pupil of the son of this Śeṣha-Kṛishṇa, this gives us Bhaṭṭoji's date, which must be about A. D. 1630. This is also confirmed by the fact that a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji wrote a work in Śamvat 1693.<sup>2</sup>

Bhaṭṭoji himself wrote a commentary on his Siddhānta-kaumudī, called Praudha-Manoramā to distinguish it from an abridgment of the same called Bāla-Manoramā also by the same author. Besides shorter works such as commentaries on the Pāṇiniya Dhātupāṭha, Liṅgānuśāsaṇa, &c, Bhaṭṭoji wrote the Śabda-kaustubha which is a voluminous commentary on Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī similar in plan to the Kāśikā. This was left, probably, incomplete; though he must have written as far at least as the fourth āhnikā of adhyāya iii, and not only the first pāda of the first adhyāya, as is usually supposed.<sup>3</sup>

Besides Jagannātha's commentary on the Praudha-Manoramā, there is another written by Nāgeśā, but ascribed by him to his teacher Hari-dikshita, just as Nāgeśā ascribed another work, a commentary on the Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa, to his patron. Śabda-kaustubha similarly is commented upon by Nāgeśā and by Nāgeśā's pupil Vaidyanātha Pāyagūḍa. To commentaries ancient and modern on the Siddhāntakaumudī there is no limit. Those most famous are the Tattvabodhinī by Jñānendrasarasvatī, pupil of Vāmanendra-sarasvatī, which treats

1 Compare इह केचिन्निधिलिखितं  
कुटुम्बयुग्ममालालितचरणानां.....  
सोपावर्तमानां भीकृष्णपण्डितानां..  
मसादादासादितशब्दाद्युपासनास्तेषु  
च पारमेश्वरं पदं मयातेषु कलिकाल-  
वशाद्दीभ्यस्तः प्रक्रियाप्रकाशं स्वयं  
निर्मितार्थमनोरमायामाकुल्यकार्युः।  
सा च प्रक्रियाप्रकाशकृता पौर्णरेका-  
ह्वरपण्डितवीरेश्वराणां तमयैर्द्वि-

तापि स्वमतेपरिशयं पुनरस्माभिर्नि-  
रीक्ष्यते।

2 Deccan College Ms. No. 183 of  
A. 1882-83, the author of which  
is नीलकण्ठ छत्रल.

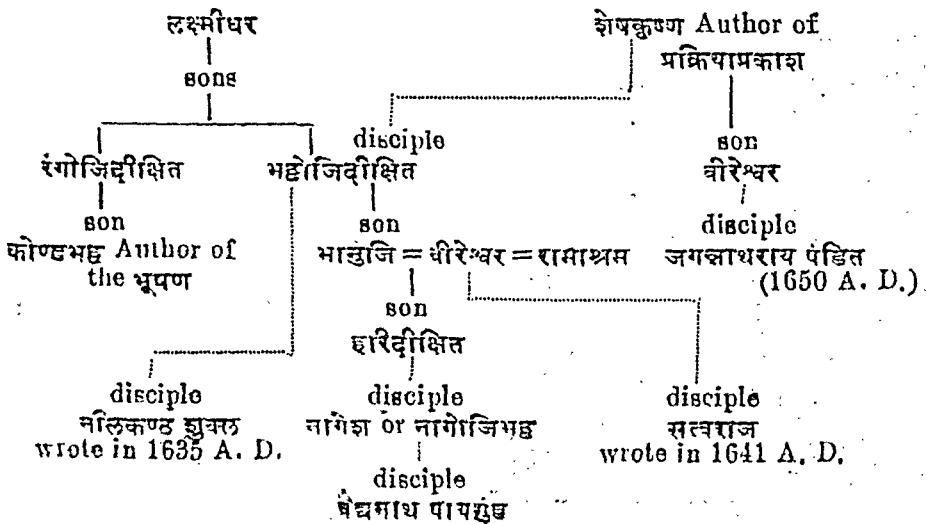
3 Gov. Or. Mus. Library, Madras,  
Ms. no. 1328 goes upto the  
fifth āhnikā of adhyāya iii.



of the classical language only and omits the svara and vaidikī prakriyā. It is mostly modelled on Bhaṭṭoji's own commentary and is very useful for beginners. Jayakṛishṇa, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa of the Mauni family has written a commentary on the svara and vaidikī prakriyā only of the Siddhānta-kaumudī, thus completing that of Jñānendra-sarasvatī. Both these writers probably belong to the first half of the eighteenth century. Regarding the abridgments of the Siddhānta-kaumudī and other shorter manuals based upon it we shall speak presently.

The family of Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita seems to have been a family of great writers and grammarians up and down. Bhaṭṭoji's nephew Koṇḍabhaṭṭa wrote an original work on syntax and philosophy of grammar modelled on the lines of his illustrious uncle and being in fact a discursive gloss on some 74 kārīkās of Bhaṭṭoji. Bhaṭṭoj's son Bhānuji taught several pupils, as also his grandson Haridīkshita. Among the pupils of the latter is ranked no less an illustrious name than that of Nāgojibhaṭṭa or Nāgeśa.<sup>1</sup>

1 These relations would be clear from the following geneological table—



32. The works of Nāgeśa and of Vaidyanātha Pāyagunḍa—Nāgeśa or Nāgojibhaṭṭa was a very prolific writer. Besides fourteen great works on Dharma, one on Yoga, three on Alaṅkāra, and about a dozen on Vyākaraṇa-śāstra, he has been credited with the authorship of extensive commentaries on Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa and Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa as also on Saptasatī, Gitagovinda, Sudhālaharī, and other works. We are here concerned with his grammatical treatises, and prominent amongst these is the Udyota on Kaiyyaṭa's Mahābhāṣya-pradīpa; Paribhāṣenduśekhara, a collection of Paribhāṣās handed down in connection with Pāṇini's grammar and followed by a concise explanatory commentary on them called the Śabdenđuśekhara (in two editions a major and a minor); a commentary on the Siddhānta-kaumudī and intended as a companion to the Manoranmā; Śabdātātma, a commentary on the Prauḍha-Manoranmā, ascribed by him *honoris causa* to his teacher Hari-dikṣita; Viśhamī a commentary on Bhaṭṭoji's Śabda-kaustubha; and finally the Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhāntamañjūśū (in three editions) on the philosophy of grammar.

The geneological tree given above exhibits Nāgojibhaṭṭa's spiritual descent from his illustrious predecessors; it also helps us roughly to determine his time. In addition we have a tradition current at Jeypur, and mentioned by the learned editor of the Kāvya-mālā in his introduction to Rasagaṅgādhara, which refers to an invitation for a horse sacrifice received in 1714 A. D. by Nāgeśabhaṭṭa from Savāi Jeysīṁha, ruler of Jeypur (1688 to 1728 A.D.), an invitation which Nāgeśa courteously declined on the ground that he had taken *kṣhetra-sannyāsa* and could not, therefore, leave Benares to attend the ceremony. Regarding himself he informs us that he was a Mahratta Brahman surnamed Kāle, the son of Śiva-bhaṭṭa and Satī, a resident of Benares and a protégé of

7 [ Sk. Gr. ]

Rāmasimha, a local prince of Śrīngaverapura (now Singarour) a few miles north of Allahabad.

Vaidyanātha or Bālabhaṭṭa Pāyagūṇḍa, a direct disciple of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa, wrote like his teacher several works on Dharma and Vyākaraṇa-sātra. He was the son of Mahādeva and Venī, and Lakshmīdevī the wife of king Chandrasimha of Mithilā was probably his patroness, in whose honour he is reported to have composed a commentary on the Vyavahāra-kāṇḍa of the Mitāksharā, which is usually known as Bālabhaṭṭī. His grammatical labours are mainly confined to writing comments on the works of his predecessors. Thus he has written a Gadā on the Paribhāshenduśekhara, a Chhāyā on the Mahābhāshya-pradīpodyota, a Kalā on Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūshā, a Prabhā on the Śabdakaustubha, a Bhāva-prakāśikā on the Śabdaratna, Chidasthimālā on the Śabdenduśekhara, and a host of others.

33. Grammatical works outside the Dīkshita school.—Independently of the Dīkshita school there are very few notable names of grammarians belonging to the seventeenth century. We may perhaps mention, as belonging to the early decades of the century, Annambhaṭṭa the author of the Tarkasaṅgraha, who has written an independent commentary<sup>1</sup> on the Ashtādhyāyī, called Mitāksharā. The school of profound grammarians which is now almost dying out was already on the decline since the middle of the eighteenth century, as is evidenced by the numerous easy manuals that have come into existence during the last two centuries. Some of these popular epitomes ally themselves to no particular school, and these will be dealt with in another part of the essay. We now confine our attention to those belonging to the Pāṇiniya school.

34. *Abridgements and Manuals.*—Prominent among these are the abridgements of the *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* itself by Varadarāja. There are three editions of them—a madhya-, a laghu-, and a sūtra-Siddhāntakaumudī,—the difference consisting only in the more or less thorough eschewing of unnecessary details. Strange as it may seem, even these epitomes stood in need of commentaries for their further simplification, or rather the reverse of it. The major abridgment was commented upon by Kāmaśarmaṇ at the request of one Śivānanda; the middle one by a Jayakṛishṇa, son of Raghunāthabhaṭṭa and grandson of Govardhanabhaṭṭa of the Mauni family.<sup>1</sup> There are a few other easy texts framed independently of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, but they hardly deserve special mention. The last stage of this progressive simplification is perhaps reached when we come to works such as *Rupāvalī*, *Samāsachakra*, etc.

35. *Later history of treatises accessory to Pāṇini's grammar.*—It only remains now, finally, to speak of the further history of the treatises accessory to Pāṇini's grammar mentioned by us on pages 25 and following of this essay. These works, although originally framed for a particular system, had so much in common with other schools of grammar that they have been transferred with very little modifications from one school to another. The successive stages of this process deserve to be made the subject of an independent study; we cannot in this place afford to dwell on them at any length. We shall only allude to a few notable works in each line.

36. *Dhātupāṭha* — The *Dhātupāṭha* as we find it embodied in the Pāṇinīya system was commented upon by

1 The *प्रक्रिया कौमुदी* has a similar abridgment called *संक्षेपचन्द्र*, the work of one of the pupils of

the author, जयन्त, and written in A. D. 1631 (?).

Kshīrasvāmin. A Kāśmīrian tradition makes him teacher to king Jayāpīḍa, which brings him into the eighth century. This conflicts with the fact that Kshīrasvāmin quotes Bhoja, and in so far as he is quoted by Vardhamāna in the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, this settles his date, which is roughly 1050 A. D.<sup>1</sup> Besides the Dhātvṛitti Kshīrasvāmin wrote five other works : i. commentary on the Amarakosha, ii. निपाताव्ययोपसर्गवृत्ति, iii. अमृततरङ्गिणी referred to in the Dhātvṛitti (which is more usually known as क्षीरतरङ्गिणी), iv. निघण्टुवृत्ति mentioned by Devarāja in his Niruktanirva-chaṇa, and v. Gaṇavṛitti referred to by Vardhamāna in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi, a work presently to be mentioned.

In the introduction to the Dhātvṛitti Kshīrasvāmin notes that several people, including the great Chandra, had essayed before him to write about the roots, but not always successfully.<sup>2</sup> The Chandra here referred to must be Chandragomin, the founder of the Chāndra school, whose Dhātupāṭha was subsequently incorporated by Durgasimha with the Kātantra grammar. About the nature of the contents of the Dhātvṛitti Kshīrasvāmin tells us that one can find therein :

सूत्रव्याख्याकार्यजातं गणानां सेद्वत्त्वानिद्वत्त्वोपग्रहादेः फलं च ।

अष्टाध्याय्यां ये विशेषप्रयोगा धातोर्धातोर्दर्शितास्ते विशेषात् ॥

Of other works of Kshīrasvāmin it is not necessary to say much in this place.

We next turn our attention to the Mādhvīya-Dhātvṛitti, which deals with the same subject and which was written by Mādhava or Sāyaṇa, the great Vedic Bhāshya-kāra (1350 A.D). Sāyaṇa also mentions numerous workers in the same field whose labours he partly utilised. Among

1 See Introduction to Mr. Oka's edition of Kshīrasvāmin's com. on Amara.

2 Compare—भट्टाः पारायणिकाश्च-

न्दाद्या अपि च यत्र विभ्रान्ताः ।  
तान्धातुन्विचरीतुं गहनमहो अध्यव-  
सिताः स्मः ॥

these may be mentioned, as belonging to the Pāṇiniya school, Bhīmasena and Māitreyaśakṣita.<sup>1</sup> Of Sāyaṇa's successors we need only specify Bhaṭṭoji and Nāgeśa. The Dhātupāṭhas belonging to the other grammatical schools will be found in their proper places elsewhere.

37. Gaṇapāṭha.—The Pāṇiniya Gaṇapāṭha has not received from commentators the attention that it merits. Different portions of it, such as *nipāṭas*, *avyayas*, and *upasargas* have been individually explained by various writers, and Kṣhīrasvāmin, as we saw, is reported to have written a Gaṇavṛtti, which is no longer extant. The only complete work on the Gaṇapāṭha is the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhī, which is a metrical arrangement of the Gaṇas followed by a lucid commentary, both composed by Vardhamāna in A. D. 1140.

38. Liṅgānuśāsana.—Besides Rāmachandra and Bhaṭṭoji, who have embodied the Liṅgānuśāsana in their Kaumudis and written commentaries upon it, we find mentioned in connection with the Pāṇiniya treatises on genders the names of Harshavardhana, Śabarasvāmin and Vararuchi. Of these the first is probably not the same as the celebrated patron of Bāṇa, while the second may or may not be identical with the great Mīmāṃsākāra. Vararuchi is another name for Kātyāyana, and even if these be considered as different, so many late and spurious works are assigned to this great name that it is well-nigh difficult to determine the genuineness of any one of them. A palm-leaf Ms. at Cambay, dated Saṃvat 1287 contains a Liṅgānuśāsana by Vāmanāchārya, which mentions among its predecessors the works of Vyāḍi, Vararuchi, Chandra, and Jinendra.<sup>2</sup> This would at least decide for the existence of

1 See note 1 on page 39, above.

2 Cambay, No. 266 ; व्यादिमणीतमय  
वारदचं सचान्द्रं जैनैर्द्वलक्षणगतं

विविधं तथान्यत् । लिङ्गस्य लक्षणं हि  
समस्य विशेषयुक्तमुक्तं मया परिमितं  
&c. See also Dr. Petersen's

these works prior to 1200 A. D., and, if Dr. Peterson's identification of Vāmanāchārya with the author of the Kāśikā be correct, prior also to 800 A. D.

39. *Uṇāḍipāṭha*.—The question as to the authorship of the Pāṇinīya Uṇāḍi-sūtras has been already dealt with (p. 25, above). These Uṇādis have been very readily absorbed—with only slight modifications—by the various non-Pāṇinīya schools such as Kātāntra, Haima, Jaumara, Saupadma, &c. In the school of Pāṇini the future development of the Uṇādis has been only by way of commentaries, the best known being Ujjvaladatta's *Vṛitti*, which, as pointed out by Aufrecht in his introduction to his edition of that work, must be assigned to cir. 1250. Ujjvaladatta quotes the *Vṛittis* of Kshapanaka, Govardhana, Purushottamadeva, and the Sati-vṛitti,—all of which preceded his own commentary. Later than Ujjvaladatta come Māṇikyadeva, Bhaṭṭoji, and others.

40. *Paribhāṣhās*.—Already we have more than once alluded to the Pāṇinīya paribhāṣhās. Pāṇini himself gave a few of these as his sūtras, but he can be proved to have tacitly employed a still larger number.<sup>1</sup> Kātyāyana quotes one, according to Patañjali's showing, in his *vārtika* 3 to sūtra i. 1. 65, while Vyāḍi, who according to some was a near relation of Pāṇini, is credited with the authorship of almost all the paribhāṣhās now current. The doctrine of the paribhāṣhās was, however, fully elaborated by Patañjali and the writers who came after him.<sup>2</sup> So much ingenuity and energy has been spent on the

Report iii, p. 41. The Jinen-  
dra here mentioned must be  
the founder of the Jainendra-  
Vyākaraṇa.

1 Goldstücker : Pāṇini, page 114  
(Reprint, p. 87).

2 For the distinction between परि-  
भाषासूत्र and ज्ञापकसूत्र and the  
whole theory of paribhāṣhās  
see ibidem, pp. 115 (Reprint,  
p. 89) and the following.

paribhāshās that eventually it has become, for the Pāṇinīya student, the hardest nut to crack. This feat has usually been attempted in the body of the commentaries themselves. Regular treatises specially dealing with paribhāshās come much later. Perhaps the earliest known is that of Siradeva, who is quoted in the Mādhaviya-Dhātuvṛitti. Nāgeśa's Paribhāshenduśekhara contains the most popular exposition of the paribhāshās, and it has been commented upon by Pāyaguṇḍa, Bhairavamisra, Śeṣhaśarma, Bhīmabhaṭṭa, and many others. Non-Pāṇinīya schools copied most of their paribhāshās from Pāṇini, the earliest of them being the Kātantra for which Durgasimha put together a list of paribhāshās and wrote a commentary on the same.

This is also the place where we can introduce a host of treatises on the philosophy of grammar—dealing with questions such as the nature of sound, the connection between word and its meaning or of sentence and its component parts, and so forth. The issues have been raised and dealt with in the Mahābhāshya itself, and later writers have derived most of the material for their lucubrations from that source. The earliest of such treatises is the Vākyapadiya of Bhartrihari and the latest deserving a special mention is the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntabhūṣaṇa of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa, a commentary on which was written by Nāgeśa. A multitude of smaller and larger lights came in between. The works are mainly special monographs on particular topics, the kāraka relations alone having engaged over forty writers of different schools and opinions.

41. *Résumé of the history of the Pāṇinīya school*—Here perhaps we may draw a deep breath and, before proceeding with the history of the non-Pāṇinīya schools of grammar, cast a hurried glance over the field that we have already travelled.



Beginning with the dim and half poetic speculations of the Brahmanic exegetes, we saw how the science of grammar flowed onward broadening down from precedent to precedent until we reach the age of Yāska who sums up the results achieved by his predecessors and makes his own contribution to the stream. The leap from Yāska to Pāṇini is probably a very great one, but the course of development is, to a large extent, hidden from us—is underground as it were—until it issues in a perfect form in the *Ashtādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.

The subsequent history of the science is marked by three well-defined stages. The first which ends with the *Mahābhāshya* busies itself with the perfection of Pāṇini's work, adding a rule here, restricting the application of another there, and so on. This period may be characterised as the creative stage of the science.

This is followed by a period of critical elaboration, the chief work of which consists in giving a precise point to these rules, changing the wording of some for the sake of brevity, of others for including in it a word or two inadvertently left out by the earlier grammarians, or not in vogue in their time ; but for the main part in writing vast commentaries on the works of their predecessors so as to explain their intention. This was also the stage when the theory of the *paribhāshās* and *jñāpakas* was worked out in details. The branching off from the main stem of a separate school, the *Chāndra*, which belongs to this period, is to be explained as due rather to the necessities of the times, than to any real split in the domain of the science itself. This period extends roughly to about 1000 A. D.

The last stage marks a progressive deterioration in the study of grammar. We have in the first place the rise of a number of new and popular schools of grammar intended to simplify the science for the enlightenment of

the laity. Following the wake of the times we have, side by side, numerous recasts of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* tending towards the same object. The lowest stage is reached when we come to the popular handbooks of the eighteenth century. How far this decline is to be attributed to the political aspects of the time is more curious than profitable to inquire. Certain it is that they could not have failed to produce their influence, though it is easy to exaggerate it. Nor, finally, should it be forgotten that broad characterisations of long periods in the history of any country or science have always to be accepted with limitations. The periods often overlap, and in this present case they are tentative only and may have to be revised in the light of later researches.

It is time now that we turned to the non-Pāṇiniya schools of grammar.<sup>1</sup>

### The Chāndra School

42. *The Chāndra School*.—The earliest reference to the Chāndra school of grammarians occurs in Bhartrihari's *Vākyapadiya* (see p. 41 above), while one of the latest is perhaps that of Mallinātha, who quotes a rule of his in his commentary on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, stanza 25 (नीचैराख्यं गिरिमपिवसे:).<sup>2</sup> Mallinātha, however, does not appear to

1 The order in which schools are here presented is not strictly chronological, the allied schools being taken together.

2 In the passage cited Mallinātha says that while Pāṇini allows only the form *विभ्रम* Chandra allows *विभ्राम* also. As a matter of fact Chandra allows only one form (*Chāndra sūtra* vi. 1.42); it is Śakaṭāyana and Hemachandra who allow

both the forms, which are indiscriminately used in classical Sanskrit. Presumably, therefore, Mallinātha either had access to a work of the Chāndra school not known to us, or more probably he meant by Chandra Hema-chandra, unless the whole is a positive mistake. I owe this note to Mr. Kṛishṇāji Govinda Oka, editor of the *Kaṣhīrataraṅgiṇī*.

have had a direct access to the Chāndra vyākaraṇa, seeing that Mss. of the work have been extremely rare, none of the various 'Searches for Sanskrit manuscripts' instituted by Government having been able to bring to light any works of the school except a fragment brought by Dr. Bühler from Kāśmir in 1875, and a complete copy of the Chāndra vyākaraṇa written in the Nepalese year 476 (i. e. 1356 A. D.) brought by Haraprasāda Shastri from Nepal.<sup>1</sup> However, by the labours of Dr. Bruno Liebich, the whole system has now been recovered in the original or Tibetan translation. The same scholar has also published the Chāndra vyākaraṇa (Leipzig 1902). The account of the system given below is mostly based on his writings.

43. **The date of Chandragomin.**—Chandra, or more accurately, Chandragomin must have lived at least some time before the authors of the Kāśikā, which has borrowed, always without acknowledgment, such sūtras of Chandra as have no parallel either in Pāṇini or in Kātyāyana. This gives us 650 A. D. as the lower limit for Chandragomin. The upper limit is supplied by a vṛtti on the Chāndra sūtras, most probably the work of Chandragomin himself,<sup>2</sup> which gives the sentence अजयद्रुतो (? Ms. जर्तो or जतो) हूणान् as an illustration of the use of the imperfect to express an event which occurred within the lifetime of the speaker. This victory over the Hūṇas can refer either to their temporary defeat by Skandagupta soon after 465 A.D., or (less likely) to their final expulsion by Yaśodharma<sup>3</sup> in 544 A. D. This gives us 470 as the approximate date for Chandragomin. This result is further confirmed by the fact that Vasurāta the preceptor

1 See Nachrichten der Goettinger Gesellschaft 1895, pp. 272-321.

Datum Chandragomin's und Kālidāsa's", p. 3.

2 See Dr. Liebich's paper "Das

3 Who, however, was not a Gupta.

of Bhartrihari acknowledged Chandrāchārya (Chandragomin) as his master.<sup>1</sup> Chandragomin must have lived therefore at least two generations before the author of the Vākyapadīya. All accounts agree in stating that Chandragomin was a Buddha. He was one of the laity, and is not to be confused with Chandradāsa who belonged to the order.<sup>2</sup>

44. Nature of Chandragomin's work.—Chandragomin's grammar was meant as an improvement on that of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patanjali, mainly in the way of greater brevity and precision. Accordingly he has omitted, for obvious reasons, the Pāṇiniya rules about Vedic accent and grammar, although he includes some Vedic roots in his Dhātupāṭha. He has lessened the number of pratyāhāra-sūtras by one (fusing ह्ययम् and लप् into ह्यपरलप्), omitted some of the Pāṇiniya pratyāhāras and coined others. In many cases, the rules of Pāṇini are recast simply for the sake of securing facility of pronunciation.<sup>3</sup> The really original contributions of Chandragomin amount to about 35 sūtras and these have been incorporated in the Kāśikā. In all these cases Kaiyaṇa has the remark अपाणिनीयः सुब्रह्मण्डलः. The total number of the Chāndra sūtras is about 3100 as against 4000 of Pāṇini. The work consists of six chapters of four pādas each, the matter of Pāṇini's first two chapters being scattered all through.

The object of Chandragomin was to 'rearrange the grammatical material with the object of bringing together all the rules that deal with the same phonetic or grammatical operations as well as the same part of

1 See Vākyapadīya Kāṇḍa ii, stanzas 489-50 and com. thereon.

130; also Ind. Ant, xv. pp. 183-184.

2 Lieblein, *ibidem*, p. 10-11; Kern: Manual of Buddhism, pp. 120,

3 For Pāṇini's अनेकास्मिन्निह सार्धस्य (i. 1. 55) Chandra reads सिद्ध-नेकास्मिन्निह सार्धस्य (i. 1. 12).

speech.' The Chāndra terminology with slight changes is that of Pāṇini. The mode of presenting the subject is also artificial, after the fashion of Pāṇini. The grammar goes by the nickname of असंज्ञक, perhaps because the संज्ञाs are not here treated of separately, but probably because wherever in his sūtra Pāṇini has used the word संज्ञा Chandragomin uses the word नामन्.<sup>1</sup>

45. *Accessory treatises of the Chāndra grammar.*—In addition to the sūtras in six adhyāyas Chandragomin has put together an Uṇādi list in three parts, a Dhātupāṭha in ten sections (both published by Dr. Liebich), as also Liṅgakārikās or Liṅgānuśāsana, Gaṇapāṭha, Upasargavṛitti, and Varṇa sūtras. The Uṇādis differ from those belonging to the Pāṇinīya school principally in their mode of presentation, the suffixes being here arranged according to their final letter. In a few cases Chandra also derives the words differently. The Dhātupāṭha, as we saw (p. 52, above), is referred to by Kshīrasvāmin and was subsequently incorporated in the Kātantra system. The Liṅgānuśāsana is referred to by Vāmanāchārya, Ujjaladatta, and Rāyamukuta (see above, p. 53). As to the Gaṇapāṭha no separate work of the kind has yet been discovered, but we must assume the existence of such a work as we find it embodied in the sūtra-vṛitti, just as the Kāśikā has done with regard to the Pāṇinīya Gaṇapāṭha. The Upasargavṛitti is found in Tibetan version only, and explains the meaning and use of about twenty upasargas. Finally, the Varṇasūtra (Ms. no. 289 of 1875-76 in the Deccan College collection) is a very short treatise<sup>2</sup> corresponding to the Pāṇinīya Śikshā and gives in about 40 sūtras

1 Compare Chāndra sūtras i. 2.30, i. 3. 77, ii. 2. 14, &c. with Pāṇini's iii. 2. 46, iii. 3. 174, ii. 1. 21 &c. A few cases do occur, however, where

Chandra permits the use of the word: e. g. Chandra i. 1. 123=Pāṇini iii. 1. 112.

2 I take this occasion to publish the work entire on the basis

the स्यान् and प्रयत्न of वर्णस. No work on Paribhāṣhās in connection with the Chāndra school has come down to us.

Besides the above grammatical works Chandragomin is credited with the authorship of a religious poem called Śishyalekhā, and a drama called Lokānanda, neither probably of much consequence.

46. Later history of the Chāndra school.—We have already alluded to Chandragomin's own vṛitti on his grammar. Fragments from it extending from about v. 1. 13 to v. 1. 176 are still extant. This vṛitti was later incorporated in a commentary by Dharmadāsa, a complete Ms. of which exists in the Library of the Mahārāja of Nepal.

It is undoubted that there must have been written numerous commentaries on the Chāndra Vyākaraṇa during the palmy days of Buddhistic literature; and they must have been very popular, seeing that a good many of them have been translated and freely circulated in Tibet at least since 1000 A. D., if not earlier, when Sthiramati, one of the translators of most of the Chāndra texts in the Tibetan language, probably lived. Some of these works had also gone to Ceylon along with other Buddhistic texts. However, at present, in addition to the works above mentioned, only a few more—about fifteen—are known to exist, mostly in Tibetan translations.<sup>1</sup> Such of the Sanskrit Mss. as we know of, come all from Nepal.

Having once enjoyed such a vast circulation, the almost total disappearance of the system from India requires explanation. We can account for this fact, firstly, on the ground of its want of originality, such of the original matter as there was—and it was not much—be-

of the only Ms. of the work 1 For a list of these see Ind. Ant., known to exist. See Appen- xxv, pp. 103 and following.  
dix 1.

ing already incorporated in the Pāṇinīya school through the Kāśikā. Mainly however we must look to the cause of its disappearance in its non-secular character. Being the work of a Buddhist for the Buddhistic community, it shared the fate of Buddhism, and having obtained vogue for a few centuries it gradually ceased to be cared for, its aid being invoked in later times only for the sake of justifying an otherwise unjustifiable word, or for pointing out and rejecting such of its rules as went counter to the established system of grammar. The Grammar, we are told, is still extensively studied in Tibet.

In Ceylon its fate was different. Being a Buddhistic country we expect the Chāndra system to be diligently studied there. As a matter of fact, the current Sanskrit grammar in Ceylon belongs to the Chāndra school, but we shall look in vain for any original Mss. either of the Chāndra-sūtras or of commentaries thereon.

The reason is that about 1200 A. D. a Ceylonese Buddhistic priest, Kāśyapa by name, wrote a popular recast of the Chāndra grammar called Bālāvabodha. It corresponds to Varadarāja's Laghu-kaumudī in treatment and subject-matter. The work was so popular in Ceylon that it quite superseded the original Chāndra text, with the result that all other Chāndra works have disappeared in course of time, just as the works of the pre-Pāṇinīya grammarians did after the advent of Pāṇini.

Under these circumstances, it is quite impossible to pursue any farther the history of the Chāndra school of grammarians in India.

### The Jainendra School

47. The Jainendra School.—The traditional author of the aphorisms of grammar which go under this name is Jina or Mahāvīra, the last of the Tīrthaṅkaras. The tradition

of the Digambara<sup>1</sup> Jains as embodied in several of their works such as Samayasundarasūri's commentary on the Kalpasūtras or Lakṣmīvallabha's Upadeśamālākarnīkā is, that Indra asked certain questions to Jina when of eight years, and had the science of grammar revealed to him by way of answers; the grammar in consequence came to be known by their joint name.<sup>2</sup> A Ms. (no. 1223) belonging to Professor Kathavate's collection for 1891-1895 launches, in its marginal notes, into a detailed verification of this tradition, trying to answer all the objections raised against it.

The chief objection, of course, is the concurrent testimony of the colophons of all the Mss., which invariably ascribe the work to Devanandī. This is also confirmed by the introductory stanza—

लक्ष्मीरात्यंतिकी परप निरपचायभागते ।

देवनांदितपूजंक्षी नमस्तस्मै स्वयंभुषे ॥

which is given by all Mss.,<sup>3</sup> wherein the first word of the second line, obscure in meaning as it is, appears to be purposely used to indicate the name of the author. Further, works like Dhanañjaya-kośa or Jaina-Harivaṃśa<sup>4</sup> (A. D. 783) and writers like Bopadeva or Hemachandra refer to Devanandī as the author of this grammar. The point then may be regarded as fairly settled. This Devanandī is otherwise known as Pūjyapāda.

1 The Jainendra-sūtrapīṭha belongs to the Digambaras from whom the Śvetāmbaras have borrowed it wholesale. The tradition, therefore, belongs more strictly to the Śvetāmbaras.

2 यद्विद्वाय जिनेन्द्रेण कीमारेपि निरूपितम् । ऐश्वर्यं जेनेन्द्रमिति तत्त्वाद्दृष्टं शब्दाद्युदात्तमम् ॥

3 Except the one above quoted, which gives a different maṅgala.

4 In the opening praśasti of the work there is a reference to the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa. Akaṣṭhadeva also quotes a Jainendra sūtra in the तत्त्वार्थरत्नसङ्ग्रहे i. 5.1.



Dr. Kielhorn once believed that Pūjyapāda was a *nom de plume* assumed by a late writer, with the view all the more readily to make the work pass under the name of the last Tirthaṅkara. The historical existence of the founder of this school thus doubted by Dr. Kielhorn has been conclusively established by Professor Pathak,<sup>1</sup> who quotes a verse from the Nandisaṅgha Paṭṭāvali<sup>2</sup> and gives other references to prove that Devanandī was no other personage than Pūjyapāda himself.

48. Date of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa.—The foundation of this school dates from about the same time as that of the Chāndra. If anything, the Jainendra would come a little before the Chāndra. Professor Pathak in his paper on the Jaina Śākaṭāyana (Indian Antiquary, Oct. 1914) gives evidence to assign the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa to the latter part of fifth century A. D. Among his arguments are: 1. the fact that the Kāśikā seems to betray a knowledge of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa<sup>3</sup>; 2. the circumstance that the Jainendra sūtra<sup>4</sup> alludes to Īśvarakṛishṇa the author of the Sāṅkhya-kārikās (who is assigned by Dr. Takakusu to A. D. 450) and to the twelve year cycle of Jupiter according to the heliacal rising system<sup>5</sup> a system which was in vogue in the time of the Early Kadamba kings and their contemporaries, the Early Gupta kings; and 3. the collateral evidence to be derived from later references to the Jainendra from the ninth century on. Thus the Śākaṭā-

1 Indian Antiquary xii, pp. 19 ff.

2 यशःकीर्तियशोनन्दी देवनन्दी महा-  
यतिः । श्रीपूज्यपादापराख्यो गुणनन्दी  
गुणाकरः ॥

3 Kāśikā iii. 3.40 उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो  
वक्तव्यः presupposes Jainendra  
sūtra ii. 3. 36 हस्तादेयेऽनुद्यस्ते-  
ये चेः, as Kāśikā could not  
have derived it from else-  
where.

4 Sūtra iii. 3.134—शरद्वच्चुनकदर्भा-  
ग्निशर्मकृष्णरणाद् भृगुवत्सायायण-  
वृषगणब्राह्मणवसिष्ठे । Contrast  
Pāṇini, iv. 1.102. The Amo-  
ghavṛitti of Śākaṭāyana ex-  
plains आग्निशर्मयणो वार्षगण्यः,  
the latter being another name  
for Īśvarakṛishṇa.

5 Sūtra iii. 2.5 गुरुद्वयान्नाद्युक्तेऽदे ।

yana Śabdānuśāsana (which dates from 1025 A. D., as we shall see) is largely indebted to the Jainendra. A Digambara Darśanaśāstra of 853 A. D. mentions, as stated by Dr. Peterson,<sup>1</sup> a pupil of a certain Pūjyapāda as being the founder of a Draviḍa-saṅgha. Lastly, an inscription from the Śaṅkhabasti temple at Lakshmeśvara records a gift in Śaka 652 (730 A. D.) of Śrī-Pūjyapāda to his house-pupil, although this last is not quite a trustworthy evidence, being not contemporaneous, and there may have been more than one Pūjyapāda.

49. Character of the Jainendra-vyākaraṇa.—There are two versions in which the Jainendra grammar has come down to us. The shorter one which consists of about 3,000 Sūtras is followed by Abhayānandī in his gloss on the grammar, while the longer one which, besides other minor differences in the wording and the arrangement of the sūtras, gives over 700 sūtras not found in the shorter version, is followed by Somadeva in his commentary called Śabdārṇavachandrikā, which, as he himself tells us, was composed in A. D. 1205. Professor Pathak has accumulated evidence tending to show that the longer version followed by Somadeva is the truer one, while that of Abhayānandī is much later.<sup>2</sup>

The Jainendra grammar is altogether wanting in originality. It is nothing but Pāṇini and the vārtikas condensed as much as possible. The merit of the work solely consists in the number of ingenuous shifts resorted to for the purpose of securing the maximum economy of words. Even the most trifling changes such as that of विभाषा or अन्यतरस्यां into वा, of मनुष्य into नृ, and the alteration of the order of the words in the sūtras<sup>3</sup> so as to

1 Report for 1883-84, p. 74.

subject.

2 Professor Pathak intends shortly to write a paper on the

3 Pāṇini vii. 1. 9 अतो भिन्नं देव्यं is changed into भिन्नोऽस्य देव्यं ।

produce by coalescence a syllable less are not disregarded. The Pāṇiniya pratyāhāras are retained without a change, though the fourteen Śiva-sūtras together with the section on Vedic grammar, are omitted. In addition, Devanandī has invented a large number of shorter technical terms<sup>1</sup> which bristle throughout his work and make its study the most complex imaginable.

Devanandī alias Pūjyapāda has, as is the wont of most Digambara writers, nowhere quoted by name or acknowledged his obligations to authors and works not belonging to his own religion. He has in his sūtras quoted six names.<sup>2</sup> The Deccan College Ms. no. 1223 of 1891-95, which makes it its business to prove that the author of this grammar is Jina himself, gives on this point a rather incorrectly written note<sup>3</sup> which tends to say that since one of the above names, that of Prabhāchandra, which occurs in the sūtra रात्रेः प्रभाचन्द्रस्य, appears on the face of it to be a fiction, we may presume the same for all the rest. We can couple with this the statement of one of the commentators on Hemachandra's Dvyāśrayamahākāvya to the effect that Siddhasena, another of the quoted names, was not a grammarian at all. Dr. Kielhorn similarly believed that all these names were fictitious and thought that the practice of thus quoting names *honoris causa* was not confined to the Jainendra school alone. Unfortunately we cannot decide the matter now.

50. Later history of the Jainendra-vyakaraṇa.—The absence of any originality accounts for the paucity of works connected with this school. Two commentaries only have

- 1 Such as त्य for प्रत्यय, य for कर्म- 3 प्रक्षेपाऽवीच्य(?)तां स्फुटत्वात् । रात्रेः  
धारय, म for परस्मैपद, अग for प्रभाचन्द्रस्यवत् । देवनेदिमतां मोहः  
आर्धधातुक, and so on. प्रक्षेपरजसोपि चेत् । चिराय भवतां  
2 Namely, श्रीदत्त, यशोभद्र, भूतिबालि, "रात्रेः प्रभाचन्द्रस्य" लीज्यताम् ॥  
प्रभाचन्द्र, सिद्धसेन, & सत्यन्तभन्द्र.

been preserved, one by Abhayānandī whose date is probably 750 A. D., and another called Śabdārṇava-chandrikā by Somadeva. Somadeva represents<sup>1</sup> himself as the contemporary of the Śilāhāra King Bhojadeva (Bhoja II) and an inhabitant of Ajurikā (which is probably to be identified with अजुर in the Kolhapur State). It is probable that in addition to these two commentaries that have come down to us, some others were written, and possibly the grammar was at one time made the object of diligent study; but our information on this point is extremely scanty.

There is also a recast of the Jainendra grammar meant to facilitate its study for beginners. It is called Pañchavastu, and, as is to be expected, it follows the shorter text of the sūtras as given by Abhayānandī. The work is said to be that of Devanandī; but this is clearly a mistake founded on the fact that the sūtras followed are those of Devanandī. The introductory section of the Pañchavastu which deals with the pratyāhāras seems to be an interpolation. This section mentions a person called Ārya-Śrutakīrti<sup>2</sup> as the author of the whole work. Is he then the author of this recast? If so, the absence of any other allusion to him in the body of the work becomes rather curious. Professor Pathak mentions a Śrutakīrti as having flourished about Śaka 1015.

About the history of the Jainendra grammar since the thirteenth century very little definite is known. The work probably shared the fate of all imitations and ceased

1 Compare the Colophon—*अभिहित  
श्रीकृष्णपुराणेश्वरस्योक्तिसामुद्रिक  
भाष्यम्.....जिज्ञासुषु.....श्रीमद्विष्णु-  
साधारणुल्लङ्घनसामुद्रिक.....श्रीशिव-  
भोजविजयराजं शकवर्षकामुद्रिक-  
सामुद्रिकशिवसामुद्रिकसंस्मरणम्.....*

*अभिहितपुराणेश्वरस्योक्तिसामुद्रिक  
श्रीमद्विष्णुसंस्मरणम् &c.*

2 *Indian Antiquary*, x, p. 75;  
Dr. Peterson's Report for  
1883-84, pp. 67 ff.

to be attended to when the original on which it was based came to be studied more and more. It was meant to appeal to a sect and even there it was not without a rival. To this day it draws a solitary student here and there from amongst the Digambara Jains, especially of Southern India.

### The Saktayana School

51. The Śākaṭāyana School.—Separated from the Jainendra school by some two centuries or so but much allied to it in its object and the mode of treatment comes the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana, which, like its predecessor, was meant to appeal to a limited body of co-religionists : the Śvetāmbara Jains. To judge from the number of regular commentaries and other accessory treatises in connection with this school and from the numerous references to it in works like the Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi, Madhaviya-Dhātuvṛtti and so forth, it would appear that at one time the Śabdānuśāsana was largely studied among members of communities other than those to whom it was primarily addressed. There is not much originality in the work itself to deserve this popularity.

52. The founder of the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana not the ancient Śākaṭāyana but his modern namesake.—The name Śākaṭāyana suggests, as we have seen, a very high antiquity in that it is quoted in the Nirukta (i. 3) and in Pāṇini's Ashtādhyāyī (iii. 4.111, viii. 3.18, viii. 4.50). Here, however, we are dealing not with the ancient Śākaṭāyana—none of whose works have survived even in name—but with a modern or *abhinava* Śākaṭāyana: with the person who under this appellation is quoted, for instance, in Bopadeva's Kāmadhenu,<sup>1</sup> by Hemachandra, and other later writers.

1 Colebrooke, *Mis. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 44; Aufrecht's Oxford

Catalogue p. 176 a.

The late Dr. Kielhorn once expressed doubts as to the historical existence of this modern Śākaṭāyana. He inclined to the view that it was some modern Jain writer who has presented his own grammatical labours under the auspices of a revered name, carefully<sup>1</sup> trying to follow the views attributed to him in ancient works and possibly having for its basis some of the teachings of the earlier Śākaṭāyana. Professor Pathak's paper on the *Jaina Śākaṭāyana* (*Indian Antiquary* for October 1914) has now conclusively established not only the historical existence of the author of the Śābdānuśāsana but his exact date. The Śākaṭāyana who wrote the Śābdānuśāsana also wrote the *Amoghavṛitti*, which was written<sup>2</sup> in the time of Amoghavarsha I, the great Rāshtrakūṭa king whose known epigraphic dates range from A. D. 817—877.

53. Character of the Śākaṭāyana Śābdānuśāsana.—Besides the older grammarians such as Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali, and Chandragomin, Śākaṭāyana has freely drawn upon the work of Pāṇyapāda the author of the *Jainendra-  
vyākaraṇa*. Many sūtras of Śākaṭāyana are identical with those of Pāṇini,<sup>3</sup> and in cases where they differ the object has been to say in shorter and fewer words what

1 Carefully but often inaccurately: Thus in sūtras iii. 4. 111 and 112, Pāṇini tells us that the Imperf. 3rd pers. plu. of वृ is अयुः only according to Śākaṭāyana, but not so in his own opinion. This establishes विभाषा. Now the modern Śākaṭāyana also makes the rule optional and allows both forms in his sūtra आह्विषोद्वेर्नुस्व । This is what Pāṇini teaches, and not what Pāṇini represents Śākaṭāyana to have taught.

2 The most conclusive proof for

this is the use of the instance अवदद्वनोपवर्षोऽरातीन् to illustrate the use of the imperfect (sūtra iv. 3. 207) to describe a well-known past event which the writer might have personally witnessed but did not. There is inscriptional evidence to prove that the event in question took place shortly before Śaka 789 or A. D. 867 (see *Ep. Ind.* vol. i, p. 54, *Ind. Ant.* vol. xii, p. 181).

3 E. g. Pāṇini's i. 3. 11, ii. 1. 1, viii. 4. 40, &c.

was already intended by Pāṇini.<sup>1</sup> Most of the new matter is taken from Chandragomin<sup>2</sup> (without acknowledgment of course) and where he has improved upon Chandragomin, the improvement was already suggested by the Jainendra sūtras,<sup>3</sup> independently of which there is hardly anything new that we can put to his credit.<sup>4</sup> In his sūtra i. 2. 37 Śākaṭāyana seems to quote Indra who probably is to be identified with Pūjyapāda, the founder of the Jainendra school.

The Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana consists of four adhyāyas of four pādas each, the total number of sūtras being about 3,200. The arrangement of topics is similar to that of later Kaumudīs. He gives thirteen प्रत्याहारसूत्रs and following the suggestion of Kātyāyana has omitted from them the vowel ऌ and assigned therein a place to the अयोगवाहs. He does not, of course, treat of the Vedic grammar. His ingenuity is mainly confined to economising the wording of the sūtras. Except in three<sup>5</sup> cases, he has invariably substituted the monosyllabic वा, wherever Pāṇini had used विभाषा, or अन्यतरस्यान् or had quoted the name of some ancient authority. The most striking instance of this tendency is given perhaps by

1 E.g. सात्मेतेत् for आदिरन्त्येन सहेता of Pāṇini (i. 1. 71).

2 Instead of Pāṇini's iv. 4. 29, परिमुखं च, Chandra gives परे-मुखपाश्चात् and so also does Śākaṭāyana.

3 In giving Chandragomin's improvement सखिदूतवणिग्भ्यो यः on Pāṇini's सख्युर्वः (v. 1. 126) Śākaṭāyana economises one syllable by giving the sūtra as सखिवणिग्दूतायः, herein imitating Pūjyapāda.

4 For Pāṇini's हस्ताज्जातो (v. 2. 133), Chandra gives हस्तदन्ताज्जातो (iv. 2. 130), Jainendra

gives हस्तदन्तकराज्जातो (iii 4. 143), and so also does Śākaṭāyana. The like holds true of Pāṇini's ii. 1. 18, ii. 3. 34, &c.

5 Namely Śākaṭāyana sūtras ii. 1. 229, i. 2. 13, i. 2. 37 (corresponding to Pāṇini's v. 4. 154, vii. 1. 79, and vii. 2. 101 respectively), where Śākaṭāyana quotes सिद्धनन्दी, आर्यवज्र, and इन्द्र. Whether, these three names are merely पूजार्थ or there were before him grammarians of that name cannot be determined.

Pāṇini's sūtra v. 2.128, which runs *हृदोपतापगहोप्राणित्वादिनिः* Chandra changed this into *चार्य(=हृद) नेग(=उपताप)गहिता-त्प्रणित्वादिसाक्षादिनिः*, where the substantial change is the addition of the qualifying clause *अप्याहृत*. Śākaṭāyana says just what Chandra said, but instead of *नेगगहित* puts a form which is shorter by full two syllables—*हृदनिव्य*. In his technical terminology also he has often taken up Chandra words in preference to Pāṇini's wherever the former were shorter. Thus he has used *चार्य*, *गगदि*, *तद* and *अतद* instead of *निगत*, *गगनागत*, *आत्मनेपद* and *परस्मैपद* of Pāṇini.

34. Other works of the Śākaṭāyana school.—Besides the Śabdānuśāsana and the Amoghavṛitti Śākaṭāyana is credited with the authorship of i. Paribhāṣā-sūtras, ii. Gaṇapāṭha in sixteen pādas, iii. Dhātupāṭha, iv. Uṇādi-sūtras in four pādas, and v. Liṅgānuśāsana in seventy śrīyā stanzas. Of these none is older than the corresponding Pāṇiniya treatise. One expects to find in the Uṇādi-sūtras at least traces of the ancient Śākaṭāyana and his works, but he is sure to be disappointed in his expectations. The other treatises also do not call for any special notice. Hemachandra based his own Liṅgānuśāsana on that of Śākaṭāyana, of which, in fact, it is only an enlarged edition.

35. Later history of the Śākaṭāyana school.—The later history of the Śākaṭāyana school—as is the case with almost every grammatical school—is to be divided into two parts: the period of commentaries and sub-commentaries, and the period of digests and manuals. The periods often overlap chronologically. Of commentaries on the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana the most noted are i. a Nyāsa quoted in the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛitti. Probably this is

1 The Ms. in the Jain Maṭha at Śrāvastī Belgoḷa is not, as reported, a Ms. of the Śākaṭāyana Nyāsa; it is a Ms. of Jinendrabuddhi's Kāśikāṭīya-

raṇapāṭjikā, and an almost complete Ms. for that, written in Canerese characters. See before, note 1 on page 30.



no other than the Nyāsa by Prabhāchandrāchārya, which is in the nature of a commentary on the Amoghavṛitti.<sup>1</sup> And ii. a commentary called Chintāmaṇi by Yakshavarman. This was throughout based upon the Amoghavṛitti and lays no claim to originality.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless it has been honoured by many sub-commentaries such as the Maṇi-prakāśikā by Ajitasenāchārya, Chintāmaṇipratipada by Maṅgarasa, and a Tippani by Samantabhadra.

Besides regular commentaries there have been produced at least two or three recasts of the Śākaṭāyana grammar. The best of them is the Prakriyāsaṅgraha by Abhayachandrāchārya, published at Kolhapur, 1907. Abhayachandra's date follows from that of his pupil Keśavavarṇi who in Śaka 1281 (= A. D. 1359) wrote a Sanskrit commentary on Gomāṭasāra, a philosophical work in Prākṛit. Abhayachandra thus flourished during the first half of the fourteenth century. In his recast Abhayachandra has omitted a large number of the original sūtras, which were unnecessary in a work for beginners, and amplified a few others. His arrangement is closely modelled upon works like the Prakriyākaumudī. Another and a still shorter abridgment of the Śākaṭāyana grammar is the Rūpasiddhi by Dayāpāla, pupil of Matisāgara and a fellow-student of Vādirāja alias Jayasimha II, the Chālukya emperor who was reigning in Śaka 947 (= A. D. 1025).<sup>3</sup> The work is somewhat similar in scope to the Laghukaumudī.

1 Regarding the Amoghavṛitti, Śākaṭāyana's own commentary on his sūtras, see Professor Pāṭhak's paper (Ind. Ant. for October 1914).

2 Compare—तस्यातिमहती वृत्तिं संदृश्येयं लभ्यिषीति । सम्पूर्णलक्षणा वृत्तिर्विदधते यक्षवर्मणा ॥ Extracts to

prove the dependence of this commentary on the Amoghavṛitti are given by Professor Pāṭhak, loc. cit.

3 For these facts I am indebted to Professor Pāṭhak's paper in the Ind. Ant. for Oct. 1914.

In course of time the Śākaṭāyana Śabdānuśāsana came to be fairly ousted from the field by a powerful rival in the shape of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana, which like its predecessor<sup>1</sup> was addressed to the Svetāmbara Jains, with the result that even Mss. of works belonging to the school are at present very rarely to be met with outside of Southern India, which was once the centre of its greatest influence.

### The Hemachandra School

56. The Hemachandra School.—The last, but not on that account the least, of these sectarian schools that we have to notice is the one which is known under the name of its founder, the Jain monk Hemachandra. About Hemachandra and his times we know a good deal more than what we did regarding the founders of the other schools hitherto described. The biographical material regarding Hemachandra has been brought to a focus in Dr. Bühler's German pamphlet<sup>2</sup> entitled 'Ueber das Leben des Jaina Monches Hemachandra,' Wien, 1889.

57. Life of Hemachandra.—Hemachandra was born on the full-moon night of the month of Kārttika in the year of Vikrama 1145 (corresponding to A. D. 1088 or 1089, November-December) at a place called Dhunduka, now in the British Collectorate of Ahmedabad. His parents were humble banias, Chachiga and Pahini by name. He was originally named Chāṇḡadeva. The mother was a

1 That Śākaṭāyana was Śvetāmbara Jain is proved by the numerous references to the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, *Chheda-sūtra*, *Niryukti*, *Kālikā-sūtra*, and other Śvetāmbara works found in the *Amoghavṛtti*.

2 Besides the *प्रज्ञप्ति*s found in Hemachandra's writings this

work is based upon *प्रभावक-चरित्र* by मेरुतुङ्गाचार्य and *प्रद्युम्नसूरी* (1250 A. D.), *प्रबन्ध-चिन्तामणि* by मेरुतुङ्गाचार्य (1305-6 A. D.), *प्रबन्धकोश* by राजसेखर (1348-9 A. D.), and *शुगारपालचरित* by जिनमण्डन (1435-6 A. D.).

good pious woman, and the birth and the greatness of her would-be son was conveyed to her in a dream which was interpreted for her by a religious teacher named Devachandra.

When Hemachandra was a boy of five, Devachandra requested Pahini to surrender the son to the service of religion, offering considerable money in compensation. The money was refused, but the boy was given over, who, at Cambay, on the 14th day of the light half of the month of Māgha, being Sunday, was solemnly received into the order of the Jain Priesthood, taking on that occasion the new name of Somachandra. During the twelve years that followed his ordination, and of which our information is very scanty, Somachandra probably devoted himself to learning with great zeal. On the conclusion of his studies he was consecrated as Sūri or Āchārya, once more, and for the last time, changing his name to Hemachandra.

The next glimpse that we have of him is at Anahilla-pattaka as the acknowledged head of the greatest of the many Jain communities there. Jayasimha otherwise called Siddharāja, was then on the throne, ruling from (Anhilvad-) Patan an empire which extended from Abu to Girnar and from the western sea to the borders of Malva. He was a munificent patron of learning and an earnest enquirer into religious truth. He never abandoned the worship of Śiva which was traditional with his house, but it was his delight to gather religious men from all quarters and to set them discussing before him the truth of their systems. Hemachandra early attracted his notice and he sought to conciliate, if not actually to convert, his sovereign by the use of clever parables inculcating suspense of judgment and eclecticism. There are several stories current about Jayasimha and Hemachandra displaying the latter's shrewdness in contending with his Brahman enemies at court.

After the death of Jayasimha (1143 A. D.) Kumārapāla, his nephew, came to the throne. The first ten years of his reign he spent in victorious warfare on the northern frontiers of his kingdom. When he had nothing to fear from his enemies, he settled down to a peaceful and contemplative life. In this case there is no reason to doubt that Hemachandra's exertions resulted in the king's conversion. A drama called Moharāja-parājaya is based upon this fact. It is the oldest of our authorities for Hemachandra's times, being written by Yaśahpāla, minister to Ajayapāla, Kumārapāla's successor. According to the drama Kumārapāla's conversion took place in Sāṃvat 1216, the second day of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa. It is at the request of Kumārapāla and in order to establish him in his new faith that Hemachandra wrote the *Yogasāstra*, just as, ere long, he had written the *Śabdānuśāsana* at the request of Siddharāja or Jayasimha.

During the closing years of Kumārapāla's reign he, in company with Hemachandra, made many pilgrimages to Jain sacred places in Western India. Hemachandra, who was now an octogenarian, soon felt his end drawing near, and he boldly set out to meet it by means of प्रायोपवेशन. He was 84 at the time of his death. Kumārapāla died only six months after him. With their death the glories of the Jain empire also came to an end, after a brief existence of unparalleled brilliancy.

58. Nature of Hemachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana*.—Regarding Hemachandra's grammar (the full title of which is सिद्धहेमचन्द्राभिधत्तोपज्ञशब्दानुशासन<sup>1</sup>) it consists, like Pāṇini's work, of eight adhyāyas of four pādas each, the total number of sūtras being about 4,500. Of these nearly a

1 A certain commentator explains the first part of the title thus—

सिद्धराजेन कारितत्वात् सिद्धम् ।  
हेमचन्द्रेण कृतत्वात् हेमचन्द्रम् ।

fourth part of sūtras is given by the last adhyāya alone, which deals exclusively with the Prākṛit languages which were now in their most flourishing condition. In the remaining adhyāyas the arrangement of subjects is natural, only slightly differing from that of the Kaumudis.

Hemachandra's object in writing a new grammar for the benefit of his illustrious patron was to say in the shortest possible manner not only all that his predecessors had said upon the subject, but everything that could be said. Accordingly he has drawn freely upon the works of all the grammarians and commentators that had gone before him : indeed in some cases—especially in regard to Śākāṭyāna's Śabdānuśāsana and the Amoghavṛitti—his dependence is so close as to amount to almost slavish imitation.<sup>1</sup>

Hemachandra wrote a commentary on his own sūtras called Śabdānuśāsana-Bṛihadvṛitti. This commentary is profuse and learned, quoting the views of many writers—always under the general appellation of अपरः, परः, अन्यः, एकः, कश्चित् etc.—for approval in some cases and refutation in most others. A commentary called Nyāsa on this Bṛihadvṛitti identifies a large number of these quotations<sup>2</sup> and if properly edited along with Hemachandra's Bṛihad-

1 Some typical instances will be found collected by Professor Pathak in the Indian Antiquary for October 1914, page 209. That Hemachandra does now and then add a bit of his own is proved by instances like the sūtra पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा (Pāṇini ii. 1. 18), which Śākāṭyāna gives as पारे मध्येऽन्तः षष्ठ्या (वा), while Hemachandra gives as पारे मध्येऽन्तः षष्ठ्या वा ।

2 These are : ह्रस्वगोमित्र, उत्पल, उपाध्याय, कल्लल, कलापक, काशिकाकार, क्षीरस्वामी, चन्द्रगोमित्र, जयन्तीकार, दुर्गसिंह, देवनांदी, न्यासकार, पाणिनि, भाष्यकार (otherwise शेषराज or श्रीशेष), भोज, वामन, वार्तिककार, विश्रान्तविद्याधर, शाकटायन, श्रुतपाल, and many others. The उपाध्याय is probably कैयट, while श्रुतपाल is probably the same person who is quoted in the Amoghavṛitti at iv. 1. 252-3.

vṛitti it is very likely to shed considerable light on many a dubious point in the history of Indian grammar. At the end of each pāda of the vṛitti Hemachandra, by way of a praśasti, has added a stanza in praise of his patron and his family. They are all given together in a note to Dr. Bühler's pamphlet above referred to, and are written in the usual classical style of flattery.

An abridgment of the Bṛihadvṛitti for the first seven chapters of the Śabdānuśāsana is also attributed to Hemachandra, and may probably have been written with his concurrence. It is a mere patchwork, containing nothing new or original. Mss. of it date as far back as cir. 1350 A. D., and one old palm leaf Ms. calls it, instead of Śabdānuśāsana, Laghuvṛitti-Śabdānuśāsana-Rahasya. To illustrate the rules of his grammar, Hemachandra has composed a poem, resembling the Bhaṭṭikāvya, which is known as Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya.

59. *Treatises accessory to Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.*—It is not necessary to describe in fuller details the treatises accessory to Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana. These are: i. Haima-Dhātupāṭha, which is arranged for the most part like the corresponding treatise of Pāṇini; ii. Uṇādisūtras, numbering a little over 960; iii. Liṅgānuśāsana, a metrical treatise, being an enlargement of the Śākāṭyana Liṅgānuśāsana and divided into eight sections;<sup>1</sup> iv. Gaṇapāṭha; v. A collection of Paribhāṣās; and some others. For the most part these treatises are embodied in Hemachandra's Bṛihadvṛitti, from which they seem to have been subsequently extracted and published in a separate form. It is doubtful whether the vivaraṇas or vṛittis which are given in Mss. of the Liṅgānuśāsana or of the Uṇādisūtras do really come from

1 Namely—वृद्धिः, गर्भमकलिः, ईश्वरीलिः, श्रीलिः, पुष्पगर्भमकलिः, श्रीश्रीप, विलिः and परलिः.

Hemachandra. Here, as in most of the commentaries on the Śabdānuśāsana, the colophons of the original work are mistaken for those of the commentaries themselves.

60. *Commentaries on Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana.*—The most important and extensive of these commentaries or rather sub-commentaries is the *Bṛihadvṛitti-ḍhuṇḍhikā*. No complete Ms. of this work has been hitherto discovered, the longest extending only upto the fifth adhyāya. The Mss. indifferently call it दीपिका, अवचूरि, अवचूर्णिका and दुष्टिका. Its authorship also is equally uncertain. Many Mss. and reports ascribe it to Hemachandra, which is very probably a mistake. A Ms.<sup>1</sup> from the Deccan College collection, which contains the commentary on adhyāyas vi. and vii, is stated to have been the work of Dhana-chandra. Another<sup>2</sup> Ms. of the *Ḍhuṇḍhikā* purports to be the work of Jinasāgara, while a third which contains only a fragment from the ākhyāta section gives Nandaśundara as its author. These conflicting statements it is very hard to reconcile. The most probable view is that there were two slightly varying versions of the *Ḍhuṇḍhikā* and consequently there may have been two separate authors. Whether each wrote a commentary on all the seven adhyāyas or only on portions from them it is perhaps impossible to decide. The *Ḍhuṇḍhikā* on the eighth or the Prākṛit chapter is the work of Udayasaubhāgya, pupil of Harshakula of the Laghutapāgachchha. It was written in 1533 A. D. during the reign of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat (1525-1537). The object of a *Ḍhuṇḍhikā* is to take the various sūtras of the Śabdānuśāsana in order, explain them word by word, and in the majority of cases to quote instances of its application, deriving the several forms step by step by bringing in the necessary sūtras.

Another very useful commentary on the *Bṛihadvṛitti* is by Devendrasūri, pupil of Udayachandra of the Chān-

dragachchha. It is called Haimalaghunyāsa and purports to be an abridgment of a larger Nyāsa by Udayachandra, the author's preceptor.<sup>1</sup> This latter work has not come down to us. The importance of this commentary mainly consists in that it refers many of Hemachandras's quotations to their sources. A third anonymous commentary calls itself Śabdamahārṇavanyāsa. There do not seem to be existing any more commentaries worth the name.

61. Digests and manuals and other miscellaneous works.—Smaller manuals based on Hemachandra's Śabdānusāsana have also come down to us, the most famous by far being the Haima-laghuprakriyā by Vinayavijayagaṇi, pupil of Kīrtivijayagaṇi. It was composed in Sāṃvat 1710=1652 A. D.<sup>2</sup> A commentary on it called Haima-prakāśa was also written by the author some twenty-five years later.<sup>3</sup> A second digest referred to above,<sup>4</sup> called Haimakaumudī alias Chandraprabhā, was put together in Sāṃvat 1725 (=1669 A. D.) by Meghavijaya, one of the sūris who "by the command of the lord of the country (Deśapati) were provided with quarters for the rainy season in the palace of Agarāvara."<sup>5</sup> This work is said to have been the model for the Siddhāntakaumudī. The facts may have been just otherwise.

Of lesser lights we have i. Puṇyasundaragaṇi who arranged for the school the different Sanskrit roots in their alphabetical order giving after each root its meaning, gāṇa, and other conjugational peculiarities; ii. Śrīvallabhavāchanāchārya who wrote in Sāṃvat 1661,

1 Compare the following stanzas from the Prastāvi :-

..उद्यम्यन्द्रोदसि शिष्यः संख्या-  
यतां वरः । यावज्जीवनमूयस्य व्याख्या  
ज्ञानामृतमपा ॥ तस्योपदेशादेवेन्द्र-  
सुतिं शिष्यलये व्यधात् । न्याससारस-  
मुद्धारं तनीषी कणकप्रभः ॥

2 Compare : श्रीमुनीश्वरनिर्देशे विमान-

तो राजधन्यपुरजगरे । दैतस्याकरणस्य  
मधितेयं प्राकिया..... ॥

3 Compare: कविबद्धिगलपिशाशिमित-  
षये । रत्नलामपुरे रम्ये । ग्रन्थोऽयं  
सम्पूर्णः । विजयादशम्या..... ॥

4 See before, page 46, note 3.

5 Peterson's Report iii, page 10.





who wrote a Śabdānuśāsana of his own and composed a commentary on it during the life-time of Hemachandra himself, if we are to trust the evidence furnished by the instance अद्वयसिद्धिमास्यः given in the commentary.<sup>1</sup> This would make Malayagiri flourish between A. D. 1143 and 1174. Malayagiri, unlike Hemachandra, used pratyāhāras and followed on the lines of the Kātantra as well as Śākāṭyana. Unfortunately, the only Ms. of this work that has so far come to light is incomplete, and nothing further could be said of this work here.

Regarding the Prākṛit chapter of Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana and its subsequent history—for, it had an independent development of its own—we need not discuss it in this place as it is beyond the proper province of our essay, which is limited only to the Sanskrit schools of grammar.

From these sectarian schools of grammar we shall now turn to schools which are rather cosmopolitan in character, being designed mainly to appeal to the masses—to schools whose object was to say just what is sufficient for a proper understanding of the language, to which grammar was considered, and justly considered, as only ancillary—to schools, namely, which go by the names of the Kātantra, and the Sīrasvata.

### The Kātantra School

63. The Kātantra school.—The name Kātantra, according to the commentators, means a short treatise, a handbook in other words in which the niceties of Pāṇini's grammar have been dispensed with for the benefit of beginners. This view gains plausibility from a statement in the

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Kielhorn's report for 1880-81, page 46.

Vyākhyānaprakriyā<sup>1</sup> which says that this grammar was primarily designed for the use of—

छान्दसः स्वल्पमतयः शास्त्रान्तररताश्च ये ।

ईश्वरा व्याधिनिरतास्तथालस्ययुताश्च ये ॥

वाणिकसस्यादिसंसक्ता लोकयात्रादिषु स्थिताः ।

तेषां क्षिप्रं प्रबोधार्थम्—

Weber in his history of Indian Literature p. 227 notes that this grammar was meant for those who wished to approach Sanskrit through Prākṛit, and that the Pāli grammar of Kachchāyana was based upon the Kātantra. We have else where (page 10) spoken of the relation which Dr. Burnell discovered between this and the Tamil grammar, and of these again with the ancient Prātisākhyas and other Aindra treatises. All accounts thus agree in stating that the Kātantra grammar was not the creation of a school, but was rather meant to satisfy a real popular need; and looking to the intrinsic merits of the work itself, as also to the host of commentators that have been attracted towards it, it is clear that the work must have served its purpose pretty well, at least for a time.

64. Traditional account about Śarvavarman, the founder of the school.—The Kātantra is otherwise known as Kaumāra or Kālāpa, and the traditional explanation<sup>2</sup> of the genesis of these two names is as follows: There once lived in the Deccan a king called Śātavāhana<sup>3</sup> who, while one day having *jala-keli* with his queen, was requested by her “मोदकं देहि राजन्,” meaning “Pray, do not sprinkle any more

1 Ms. No. 316 of 1875-76 from the Deccan College Library.

2 The tradition is mentioned in Dr. Bühler's Report for 1875-76, p. 74, and detailed in the *सहाय्यकारणोत्पादिसंज्ञा* by बन-नाथि, a Ms. of which is No. 50 of Notices, Second Series, by Haraprasada Shastri.

3 Is he to be identified with the Andhra King of that name mentioned on p. 208 of V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, third edition, published in 1914? In that case the beginning of the Kātantra will have to be put in the first century of the Christian era.

water on me." Thereupon the ignorant king offered her some (मिष्टक) sweets. Subsequently, discovering his error and being much ashamed of his ignorance of Sanskrit, he requested his Pandit named Śarvavarman<sup>1</sup> to devise a speedy method of learning grammar. The Pandit in his difficulty besought God Śiva who ordered his son Kārttikeya or Kumāra to accede to his wishes. Accordingly, Kumāra revealed the sūtras of the Knumāra grammar. As the God's vehicle, the bird Kalāpin (peacock), was the instrument of communication, the sūtras also obtained their other name. This tradition—like most others of its kind—has probably a germ of truth. The date of the rise of this school as given by the tradition is not at all inconsistent with other ascertained facts. Thus Durgasimha the earliest known commentator on this grammar cannot as we shall presently see, be later than 800 A. D., and when we consider that he may not have been the first commentator on the Kātantra, and that, at any rate, the Sūtrapāṭha known to him cannot be necessarily identical with that which was original, seeing that considerable differences are observable between his Sūtrapāṭha and that current, for instance, in Kāśmir since 1100 A. D.,—we may for the present accept the first century after Christ as the century which witnessed the rise of this grammar.

65. Evidence for later Interpolations in the Kātantra Sūtrapāṭha.—Coming now to the work itself we notice that the Sūtrapāṭha which now goes under the name of Śarvavarman is divided into four parts :

- i. सन्धिप्रकरण—Consisting of संज्ञापाद, स्वरसान्धि (समान\*) पाद, स्वरसान्धिनिषेध (ओपन्त\*) पाद, व्यञ्जनसन्धि (वर्ग\*)-पाद, विसर्गसन्धिपाद, and [निपातपाद].

1 I adopt this form of the name \* The starred names are derived in preference to Śarvavarman.      from the first words of the

- ii. नामप्रकरण—Consisting of त्वरान्त (लिङ्ग\*) पाद, व्यञ्जनान्त-  
पाद, सासिपाद\*, दुष्पत्पाद, कारकपाद, समासपाद,  
ताद्धितपाद, and [स्त्रीप्रत्ययपाद].
- iii. आख्यातप्रकरण—Consisting of परस्मैपाद\*, प्रत्ययपाद\*,  
द्विवचनपाद\*, सम्प्रसारणपाद, गुणपाद, अनुपङ्गपाद,  
इडागमपाद\*, and ध्रुवपाद.
- iv. कृत्यप्रकरण—Consisting of सिद्धिपाद\*, धातुपाद\*, कर्मणिपाद\*,  
कन्धुपाद\*, [उणादिपाद], and धातुसम्बन्धपाद\*.

In this connection the first question to be raised is : Does the fourth part—the कृत्यप्रकरण—belong to the authorship of Śarvavarman himself, or was it only tacked on to his work by a later hand ? Most commentators, including Durgasiṃha, note that the word सिद्धि which begins the first section of this prakaraṇa is मङ्गलार्थ. A maṅgala it is true, may come at the beginning of the work as a whole or in the body of it : before commencing the various subdivisions of it. In this particular case Durgasiṃha tells us सिद्धिग्रहणं भिन्नकर्तृकत्वात् मङ्गलार्थम्. He elsewhere tells us that the कृत्यप्रकरण is the work of Kātyāyana.<sup>1</sup> Jogarāja the author of a work called the Pādaprakaraṇasaṅgati<sup>2</sup> and probably the same person who is alluded to by Maṅkha (circa 1135-45 A. D.) in his Śrīkaṇṭha-charita, agrees in not assigning the कृत्यप्रकरण to the authorship of Śarvavarman ; only he makes Śākṛtāyana their author. Lastly, Raghunandanaśiromaṇi, the author of a commentary<sup>3</sup> on the Durgasiṃha-vṛitti, credits Vararuchi with the authorship of the prakaraṇa in question—अथ रुद्रन्ताः सार्धवर्मणा

sūtras commencing the various sections. Alternative names are enclosed within circular brackets.

lysis of the Kūtantra-sūtras. It is printed in Appendix 2 on the basis of the Deccan College Ms. 292 of 1875-76.

1 See note 2 on page 27 before.

2 A Ms. of the work is no. 362 of Notices, Second Series.

3 This work gives a topical ana-

कथं न द्युपादिताः । वारुचिना<sup>1</sup> वा कथं द्युपादिताः । इति सिष्यलिङ्गात्ताप्य  
यतिपादपञ्चाह । उणादिवदिष्यादि । Whoever be the real author, it  
is clear that the उणादिराज is a later addition to the original  
sūtrapāṭha.

Another clear case of later interpolations in the  
Kātantra sūtrapāṭha is furnished by the three sections in  
rectangular brackets—निवातपाद, रक्षितपाद, and उणादिराज—  
which are absent in Durgasīthha's commentary but  
which are regularly found included in the Kāśmīrian sūtra-  
pāṭha.<sup>2</sup> And even in the sections which are common to  
both these there are so many variant readings<sup>3</sup> that we are  
probably justified in inferring that the Kātantra sūtra-  
pāṭha was in a very unsettled and changeable form when  
it reached Kāśmir—probably long before it found an ex-  
positor in Durgasīthha.

Finally, the रक्षितपाद belonging to the second prakaraṇa  
seems likewise to be not of the authorship of Śarvavarman.  
The sūtras in this section (like those in the रक्षितपाद as  
given by the Kāśmīrian tradition) naturally arrange them-  
selves into anuṣṭubh stanzas; and although some sūtras  
here and there from this section have been in Professor  
Eggeling's edition of the Kātantra printed as such stanzas,  
still this general fact has not yet received sufficient atten-  
tion. The inference is obvious. If Śarvavarman did not  
think it necessary to teach the उणादिराज section to his Royal

1 Vararuchi is often an alias of  
Katyāyana. The India office  
Ms. no. 855 purports to be  
Vararuchi's com. on his own  
उणादिराज, which are just these  
sūtras.

2 Outside Kāśmir the place of  
these sections is taken up by  
a Liṅgkūṣaṇa in 86 Kṛyās,  
attributed to Durgasīthha, who  
is probably not the same per-

son as Durgasīthha; and by  
an Upādipāṭha put together  
by Durgasīthha himself. This  
latter work differs consider-  
ably from the उणादिराज in-  
cluded in the regular Kāś-  
mīrian sūtrapāṭha.

3 A few such are collected in Dr.  
Bühler's report for 1876-76,  
page cxxiv.

pupil, no more did he care to teach him the तद्धित section (or the स्त्रीप्रत्यय section). And as it cannot be urged that the तद्धित section formed for the king a harder nut to crack than, for instance, the आख्यात section, there was no apparent need for Śarvavarman's running into poetry and that for one or two sections only. The facts may have been these : A manual which made the king proficient in grammar in a few months' time must have attracted the early notice of the courtiers and subjects of the king. The omission of तद्धित and other sections may then have been noticed and rectified—either by the original author or some other scholar. And the impetus to such additions being once given, the Kātantra from being a mere handbook issued forth into a full-blown system.

66. Nature of Śarvavarman's work.—The nature of the improvements made by Śarvavarman on the current textbooks of grammar is evident even from that portion of the Kātantra which we have no hesitation in accepting as his own genuine work. These consist in i. dispensing with the artificial arrangement of the letters of the alphabet introduced by Pāṇini, and retaining in their stead their natural arrangement such as is found in the Prātiśākhya.<sup>1</sup> ii. As a consequence the Pāṇiniya pratyāhāras, which result in brevity as well as unintelligibility, are dispensed with, their place being taken by the earlier and simpler Sañjñās such as स्वर, व्यञ्जन, समान etc. This has saved the system the defining sūtras, of which there is such a number in Pāṇini. iii. In the distribution of the subject matter, in preference to the old artificial arrangement of Pāṇini there has been adopted one which is natural or topical, similar to that of the later Kaumudis. iv. Lastly, as was essential in a work designed for beginners, the

1 The first sūtra of the Kātantra—

taken from the Prātiśākhya.

सिद्धे वर्णसमाख्या—Is in fact

whole of the Vaidikī prakriyā of Pāṇini and all the other rules of an exceptional or difficult character have been simply omitted. Thus instead of the nearly 4000 sūtras of Pāṇini, Śarvavarman could finish his work in about 855 sūtras, or including the छन्द section, 1400 sūtras only.

67. *Early history of the Kātantra school*—The intrinsic merits of the work as also the fact that its author was patronised by a powerful king of the Deccan ensured its rapid circulation even in countries as remote as Kāśmīr and Ceylon. The explanation of this popularity is also partly to be found in the fact that there was an urgent demand for such a work. The text-books in use prior to the advent of this school were intended rather for Pandits and monks than for the merchants and agriculturists, in whom nevertheless the desire to learn the language of the Scriptures and of refined society was not quite absent. This led to the detection of inaccuracies and omissions in the original version of the grammar, which came to be rectified in the course of study, so that the original Sūtrapāṭha of Śarvavarman experienced, in the course of the next two or three centuries, the addition of the अष्टाध्यायी and अष्टाध्यायी वादः, and the substantial assimilation with Śāktāyana's or Vararuchi's छन्दःशास्त्रम्. During the period of its ensuing extensive circulation other minor changes or additions may have been made from time to time. The text must in any case have been pretty fairly fixed in at least two recensions, the northern and the southern, before it found an able commentator in Durgasimha.

68. *Durgasimha and his vṛttī*.—Whether Durgasimha had any predecessors in the task of expounding the Kātantra cannot now be ascertained. His was probably the first systematic attempt where necessary to explain and amplify the Kātantra grammar so as to make it as thorough-

1 By means of giving vṛttikas, some of which later commentators have incorporated with

the original sūtras. Cf. Eggeling's edition, Notes, p. 87<sup>p</sup>.



going as possible, without running counter to its original object of ease and simplicity. As Durgasim̐ha is quoted by Hemachandra, and as he knew the Chāndra Dhātupāṭha, on the basis of which he put together another Dhātupāṭha for the Kātantra, Durgasim̐ha probably is to be assigned to the eighth century. As the verse introductory<sup>1</sup> to his Uṇādisūtras contains an invocation to God Śiva, Durgasim̐ha probably was not a Bauddha, and if so, he is distinct from another Durgasim̐ha, the author of a commentary on Durgasim̐ha's vṛitti, whose invocation<sup>2</sup> points unmistakably to his faith. Durgasim̐ha is also to be distinguished from later writers such as Durga, Durgātma, and Durgāchārya. The last is the author of a commentary on the Nirukta, and one of the first two, if indeed they are two persons,<sup>3</sup> wrote a Liṅgānuśāsana to the Kātantra (see note 2 on page 85).

69. Commentaries on Durgasim̐ha's vṛitti.—Writers subsequent to Durgasim̐ha have mainly confined themselves to writing commentaries on his masterly vṛitti. The earliest of these is the Kātāntravistara by Vardhamāna,<sup>4</sup> whose patron was Karnaḍadeva, who probably is the same who ruled Gujarat in A. D. 1088. Vardhamāna is often quoted by Bopadeva in his Kāvyaakāmadhenu. A writer called Mahāmahopādhyāya Prithvidhara wrote a sub-commentary on Vardhamāna's work.

1 नमस्कृत्य शिवं सूरिशब्दसन्तानकारिणम् ।  
उणादयो विधास्यन्ते बालद्युत्पत्ति-  
हेतवे ॥

2 शिवमेकमजं शुद्धं अग्राह्यं च स्वयंभुवम् ।  
कातंत्रवृत्तिटीकेयं नत्वा दुर्गेण रच्यते ॥  
This Durga styles Durgasim̐ha  
as भगवान् वृत्तिकारः । Compare  
Eggeling's Notes, p. 465.

3 One of them may have been a  
वीरशैव ; compare the verse :—  
श्रीहृन्पुंसकत्वेन भिन्नं येन चराचरम्

लिङ्गं जयति तच्चित्त्यमशेषागमकार-  
णम् ॥ It has a ring of that  
faith about it. The other as  
we saw was a Bauddha.

4 Goldastücker believed him to be  
the same as the author of the  
Ganaratnamahodadhi, a work  
composed (सप्तनवत्यधिकेष्टेकाव-  
शस्तु शतेष्वातीतेषु) in 1139-40  
A. D.

The next in succession comes Trilochanadāsa,<sup>1</sup> who is also cited by Bopadeva and by Viṭṭhala the commentator on the Sārasvata. He may have come very soon after Vardhamāna. His commentary is called Kātantravṛttipañjikā, and from it we learn that the author was a Kāyastha, the son of Megha and father to Gadādhara. Trilochanadāsa has been himself commented upon by Jinaprabhasūri alias Jinaprabodha,<sup>2</sup> by Kuśala, by Rāmachandra, and by other more modern writers.

Mahādeva, the author of a commentary called Śabdāsiddhi, a Ms.<sup>3</sup> of which bears the date Samvat 1340, is chronologically the next writer whom we have to notice. As, however, there is very little known about him either from his own works or from those of others, we shall pass on to later writers.

Of these we have already alluded to Durga or Durgātma, author of a commentary on Durgasimha's vṛtti, who has often been confounded with Durgasimha himself. An anonymous writer has written a Dharmādhikā on the Kātantravṛtti, probably modelled upon a similarly named commentary on Hemachandra's Śabdānuśāsana. No other commentaries on the Kātantra that could be definitely assigned to a period anterior to 1500 A. D., are now extant. See, however, §72.

70. *Treatises accessory to the Kātantra.*—We have already incidentally spoken above of the treatises accessory to Kātantra. There are not many of them, and the majority of them are much later productions. The earlier ones are the Liṅgānuśāsana in 88 āryās by Durga, and the

1 He is not to be identified with the author of that name who wrote the Kātantrottarapariśiṣṭa to Śrīpatidatta's supplement.

bodha see Peterson's Report for 1896-92, Index; and Kielhorn's report for 1880-81, Mss. nos. 35 and 36.

2 For particulars about Jinapra-

3 Ms. no. 60 of Dr. Kielhorn's collection for 1880-81.

Unāḍipāṭha and the Dhātupāṭha by Durgasiṃha the author of the vṛtti. The Dhātupāṭha is modelled upon that of Chandragomin, with only slight modifications. The genuine Kālāpa-Dhātusūtra, which differs considerably from the above, is now reported to exist only in a Tibetan translation.

71. History of the Kātantra school in Bengal.—No definite information exists as to when the Kātantra was introduced into Bengal. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there arose in Bengal a host of commentators and writers of supplements to the Kātantra, and the grammar is there to this day most assiduously studied. Some of the most famous of these Bengālī writers are : i. Kavirāja who quotes Trilochanadāsa and is quoted by Harirāma ; ii. Kulachandra who is quoted by Rāmadāsa ; Gopinātha Tarkāchārya who is commented upon by Rāmachandra who also wrote a commentary on the Kātantravṛttipañjikā ; iii. Śrīpati who wrote a supplement to the Kātantra which is honoured with commentaries written by Gopinātha Tarkāchārya, Rāmachandra Chakravarti, Śivārāma Chakravarti, and Puṇḍarikāksha ; iv. Trilochana (not the older Trilochanadāsa) who wrote an Uttarapariśiṣṭa, giving therein such information on धातु, तद्धित, and समास as had escaped Śrīpati ; and several others. Most of these writers came from the Vaidya community of Bengal, and their object in all cases has been, by partial or wholesale borrowing from all available sources, to make the Kātantra as complete and up-to-date as possible, so as to prevent its being neglected in the course of the struggle for existence which began with the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of the Kaumudīkāras, and the simultaneous springing into existence of a large number of other modern schools of grammar. At present, as before observed, the study of the Kātantra is confined to only a few districts of Bengal.

72. History of the Kātantra school in Kāśmīr.—In Kāśmīr the school had a slightly varied development. The Sātra-paṭha received there was, as we saw, considerably different from that known to Durgasiṃha; and we can hence conclude that the Kāśmīrian Pandits got familiar with the works of Durgasiṃha much later. Until then they busied themselves with writing original commentaries and digests on the Kātantra which, as Dr. Bühler observes, has been the grammar of the Kāśmīrians from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Only a few of their works in Mss. have so far been available. There is among others a work called the Bālābodhini by Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara with a Nyāsa upon it by a writer called Ugrabhaṭṭa, who, if identical with his name-sake who was a teacher of grammar to Anandapala and whose book (as Alberūni says) was made fashionable in Kāśmīr by liberal donations from the royal pupil to the Pandits, must be placed in the latter part of the tenth century.<sup>1</sup> Another rather well-known book is the Laghuvṛtti by Chhichhubhaṭṭa, which perhaps belongs to about the same time.<sup>2</sup> Of later and less important books there is quite a number. The modern popular books of grammar in Kāśmīr are based on the Kātantra.

### The Sārasvata School

73. The Sārasvata school: its date.—The origin of the Sārasvata school of grammarians cannot be put down to a date very much earlier than 1250 A. D., when Bopadeva the author of the Mugdhabodhi flourished, seeing that he

<sup>1</sup> See Vincent Smith's Early History of India, Third edition, p. 382, note.

<sup>2</sup> The Deccan College Ms. of the work brought over by Bühler

in 1875-76 contains at the end the following colophon: शाके  
व्यासि(सि)र्विमिते सप्तमैकदशे(?)  
मिते &c., which perhaps stands  
for Śaka 1037 = 1115 A. D.

nowhere refers to the Sārasvata school. If the school existed in his days—if it had attained a sufficient standing in the eyes of scholars—we should naturally expect Bopadeva to mention it, just as he does many other established schools and authors. Nor does the school appear to have been known to Hemachandra. Further, none of the commentaries on the Sārasvata belongs to a date earlier than 1450 A. D., and the majority of them were written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Looking to the native places of the different commentators and the places where the Mss. were copied or discovered, it has to be admitted that the influence of the school, even in the most glorious period or its existence, was mostly limited to Northern India : to Gujarāt, Nagapur, Udepur, Bikaner, Delhi and Bengal. The school continued in vigour down to the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita and his pupils, when most schools of grammar began to decline and were driven into the corners of Bengal and other out-lying districts. The Sārasvata school was probably the last to go. These facts when taken in conjunction with the extremely simple and brief manner in which the Sārasvata treats its entire subject—700 sūtras<sup>1</sup> as against the 4,000

1 Seven hundred sūtras—i. e., in the original sūtrapāṭha of the school. This assertion is made on the basis of the Deccan College Ms. no. 239 of 1892-95, which gives 597 *mūlasūtras* plus 91 more *vārtikas* or *vaktavyas*, thus reaching the total of 658. The original order of the sūtras seems to be preserved in this Ms. alone ; other Mss. usually follow the order of Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya in his Sāras-

vata-prakriyā. Thus in two Mss. of the Deccan College Collection (no. 257 of 1895-98 and no. 210 of A. 1882-83) the total number of sūtras is nearly 890, including some sūtras which occur twice and some vārtikas distinctly given by Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya as such. We have in fact to distinguish clearly between the Sārasvata-mūlasūtrapāṭha and the Sārasvataprakriyā-sūtrapāṭha.

of Pāṇini—render plausible the inference that the Sārasvata school, like the Kātantra, arose in response to a definite demand. This time the demand probably came from the Muhammedan rulers of India who felt it necessary to promote the study of Sanskrit, were it only for the purpose of criticising works written in that language. Thus Gaisuddin Khilgi the peaceful and enlightened ruler of Mālva, Salemsahā (1555 to 1556) the emperor who ruled Delhi during Humayun's wanderings, and Jahangir, the Conqueror of the world—all these alike encouraged the study of the Sārasvata grammar as being the one calculated to produce greatest results with the least effort. Indian princes like Udayasing of Udepur (1679 A. D.) also found it easier and less likely to interfere with their usual enjoyments to study this grammar. We shall presently consider the special features to which the Sārasvata owed its popularity amongst the aristocracy ; in the meanwhile it may be assumed as very probable that the Muhammedan rule of India is to be credited with having produced the demand which eventually led to the rise of the school of grammar with which we are at present concerned.<sup>1</sup>

74. *Special features of the Sārasvata.*—These special features are not very far to seek ; and prominent amongst them is brevity of treatment. When we remember that schools like those of Jainendra and Bopadeva, whose avowed object was to curtail and improve upon Pāṇini as far as practicable, could not conveniently treat of their subject in less than 3000 and 1200 sūtras respectively ; or that the school which in current opinion was labelled the short school—Kātantra—has more than 1400 sūtras,

1 It is necessary to emphasise this in order to counteract the tendency to look upon the

Islam as a purely destructive force. The instance before us is only one out of many.

it was certainly an achievement for the Sārasvata grammar to compass the whole subject in 700 aphorisms only.

More important than brevity is simplicity ; and in this respect also the Sārasvata compares favourably with its predecessors. The Sārasvata uses pratyāhāras but dispenses with the puzzling *its* so that in its terminology the letters च, ट, त, क, प, for instance, are indicated by the formula चप. This method has the advantage of pointing out at a glance the letters included in the application of a rule, which Pāṇini's च्च fails to do, except to the initiate. The other technicalities adopted by the Sārasvata are of the simplest kind and are such that the meaning is evident from the word itself (सवर्ण, संह्यक्षर etc.), or is established by the consensus of grammarians (ताद्वित, आख्यात, सम्प्रसारण, स्वर, व्यञ्जन, उपधा, कृदन्त etc.). Accordingly, the Sārasvata very rarely goes out of its way to explain its Saṅjñās and thus, without sacrificing simplicity, gains enormously in economy. The order followed is, of course, the natural or the topical one. The language of the sūtras is easy, and in their interpretation we have not to follow the guidance of any paribhāṣhās. No book on paribhāṣhās has come down to us in connection with this school.

This has been made possible, of course, by a studied avoidance of all difficult and out-of-the-way forms, the object being to learn grammar not for its own sake but as a medium for the study of literature. The Vedic irregularities and accents are left out, as also any detailed consideration of the Unādis. Sometimes this process was carried too far and then later it was found necessary to insert vārtikas such as पतिरसमास एव सखिशब्दवद्वक्तव्यः or गवा-देरवर्णागमोऽक्षादौ वक्तव्यः or again जरायाः स्वरादौ जरस्वा वक्तव्यः, where it was discovered that even some of the commoner forms of words remained unnoticed.

75. *Traditional founder of the Sārasvata school.*—The person who is credited with the authorship of these vārtikas to the Sārasvata is an ascetic called Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya. Tradition goes further and makes him the direct recipient of the revelation of the sūtras from the Goddess Sarasvatī, after whom the school gets its name. This does not seem to be, however, the right view. We know that Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya gives in his Sārasvata-prakriyā some vārtikas, and this is incompatible with his being the Sūtrakāra, as there was nothing to prevent him from turning his vārtikas into so many sūtras. Secondly, some of the rules which Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya gives in his commentary are absent in other commentaries. Lastly, though this has hardly much bearing on the question before us, Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya is the spiritual name of a man about whom we know nothing. On the contrary Kṣhemendra at the end of his commentary on the Sārasvata-prakriyā has the colophon—इति श्रीनरेन्द्राचार्यसारस्वतं क्षमेन्द्रकृतं टिप्पणं समाप्तम्—thereby making Narendra the author of the Sārasvata. Again, Amṛitabhāratī another commentator has the following :

यन्मरेन्द्रनगरिप्रभाषितं यच्च वेमलसरस्वतीरितम् ।

तन्मयात्र लिखितं तथाधिकं किञ्चिदेव कलितं स्वया धिया ॥

A grammarian Narendrāchārya is also quoted by Viṭṭhālāchārya in his Prakriyākaumudiprasāda. Although as a result of these conflicting facts we are not justified in throwing any doubt upon the historical existence of Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya, still we must admit that he is no more than a name for us, and to set against him we have another—Narendra or Narendrāchārya—who must have written some original work on the Sārasvata, no trace of which has, however, been hitherto discovered. We may observe in passing that such a confusion of names is more likely to occur in the case of modern writers, especially obscure writers ; and such we might



assume was the person who, in response to a felt demand, produced the *Sārasvatasūtras*, and thus made it possible even for the foreign rulers of India to get an insight into Sanskrit literature.

76. The *Sārasvata-prakriyā* of *Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya* --From this obscure and almost mythical personage, who could not have lived prior to the establishment of Muhammedan rule in India, our next leap in the history of this school is to *Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya* the author of the *Sārasvata-prakriyā*. He may have had one or two predecessors in his task. Anyhow when he took up the task, there was probably such a confusion in the order of the *Sārasvata-sūtras* that he found it necessary to rearrange (ऋजुं कुर्वे) the whole matter for logical presentation.

*Anubhūtiśvarūpāchārya* could not have lived earlier than 1250 and later than 1450, when *Puñjarāja* the earliest of his known commentators lived. When the *sūtras* once received a stereo-typed form at the hands of *Anubhūtiśvarūpa*, the future history of this school is mainly one of commentaries and sub-commentaries ; and the fact that very few of the commentators—and they are over fifteen in the course of about 175 years—make any really original contribution, but confine themselves merely to an explanation more or less accurate, only means that the grammar was meant for practical purposes only. That there should have arisen so many commentators at all is to be explained on the ground that the several local Pandits felt it necessary, in vindication of their scholarship, to write for their patrons fresh commentaries rather than take up those already existing.

77. Commentators on the *Sārasvata-prakriyā*.—We shall now give short notices of these commentators one by one.

*Puñjarāja*.—He belonged to the *Śrīmāla* family of Malabar which some time or other settled in *Mālva*. He

gives his ancestry in the praśasti at the end of his commentary, from which we learn that he was a minister to Gaisudin Khilji of Mālva (1469-1500). Puṣṭjarāja seems to have carried on the administration very efficiently collecting round him a band of learned admirers, and indulging in numerous acts of charity and relief. He must have lived in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. He also wrote a work on alaṅkāra called Śiśuprabodha, and another larger work called Dhvanipradīpa.<sup>1</sup>

**Amṛitabhāratī.**—As above pointed out, this commentator mentions Narendranagari as an influential writer on the Sārasvata. Amṛitabhāratī was a pupil of Amalasarasvatī, and he bears the title परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य. His commentary is called Subodhikā. Unfortunately all the existing mss. of this commentary contain such a confusion as to the name of the author and of his guru, some stating the work to be that of Viśveśvarābhidhī, pupil of Advayasarasvatī, others that of Satyanprabodhabhaṭṭāraka, pupil of Brahmasāgaramuni, that it is hard to get at the truth. As the earliest known ms. of this work is dated Samvat 1554, the author must have lived about the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The work is said to have been composed at the holy place of Purushottama: क्षेत्रे व्यपायि पुरुषोत्तमसंज्ञकेऽस्मिन् ।

**Kshemendra.**—We next take this commentator not because he comes chronologically next but because he, like Amṛitabhāratī, speaks of Narendra. The only personal information we have of him is that he was the pupil of Kṛṣṇāśrama and the son of Haribhaṭṭa or Haribhadra, a fact sufficient to indicate that he was other than the great Kshemendra of Kāśmīr, who lived a full century before Bopadeva. Kshemendra speaks of some predecessors of his, and he is in turn quoted by Jagannātha, the

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Bhandarkar's Report for 1882-83, p. 12.

author of *Sārapradīpikā*, and unfavourably criticised by Bhaṭṭa Dhaneśvara who explicitly calls his own commentary *क्षेमन्द्रदिप्पनखंडन*. As a ms. of this last work is dated Samvat 1653, it clearly follows that Kshemendra could not have lived later than the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

**Chandrakīrti.**—His commentary is indifferently called *Subodhikā* or *Dīpikā*. From the *prāśasti* given at the end of this commentary we learn that the author was a Jain belonging to the *Brihad-Gachchha* of Nagpur, residing in a Jain *Tīrtha* called *Kautika*, and 15th in succession from the founder of the *Gachchha*, *Devasūri* (Sam. 1174). He had a pupil called *Harshakīrti* who wrote this commentary at first hand, and who himself produced a *Dhātupāṭha* and a commentary for the *Sārasvata* grammar. From the *prāśasti* of this latter work we learn that *Chandrakīrti* was honoured by *Sāhi Salem*<sup>1</sup> (A. D. 1545 to 1553) the emperor of Delhi. *Chandrakīrti* thus belongs to the second quarter of the sixteenth century.

**Mādhava.**—The son of *Kāhnu* and pupil of *Śrīrāṅga*. He mentions several commentators before him. If the date of a ms. of his commentary (Sam. 1591) is correct, he must be placed earlier than *Chandrakīrti*.

**Vāsudevabhaṭṭa.**—He calls himself the pupil of *Chandīśvara* and gives<sup>2</sup> the date of his commentary to be Samvat 1634. The commentary is called *Sārasvataprasāda*.

**Maṇḍana.**—From the colophon at the end of the *संधि-प्रकरण* we learn that *Maṇḍana* was the *Mahā-pradhāna* and *Saṅghapati* to *Alpasāhi*. His father was named *Vāhada*

1 Compare— श्रीमत्साहिसलेमभूमिप-  
तिना सम्मानितः सादरम्। सूरिः  
सर्वकालिन्दि[का]कालितधीः श्रीच-  
न्द्रकीर्तिः प्रभुः॥

2 Compare—संवत्सरे वेदवद्विरसभूमि-  
समन्विते। शुचौ कृष्णद्वितीयाया  
प्रसादोऽयं निरूपितः॥

and he belonged to the Kharatara Gachchha. The commentary subsequent to the *संक्षिप्तकरण* seems to have been written by one of his pupils. From one of the mss. of the commentary (Dec. Coll. collection, no. 13 of 1877-78) we gather that Alpasāhi or Alam was a king of Mālva, whose minister (*amātya*) was known as Pādama. Vāhada the father of Maṇḍana was a brother to this Pādama, and was, besides, himself a Saṅghesvara or Saṅghapati. Our Maṇḍana accordingly must have inherited his father's office and title. We are not yet certain as to who this Alpasāhi, king of Mālva, was.<sup>1</sup> Probably he was merely some local chieftain. The earliest dated ms. of the commentary belongs to the year 1574 A. D.

**Megharatna.**—He was a Jain belonging to the Brihat-Kharatara Gachchha, and the pupil of Vinayasundara. The commentary is called *Sārasvatavyākaranadhundhikā* or *Sārasvatadīpikā*. A ms. of this work is dated Samvat 1614 (A. D. 1556), and this gives the lower limit for Megharatna.

**Dhaneśvara.**—He wrote his commentary with the avowed object of correcting Kshemendra. As a consequence he comes after Kshemendra and before 1595 A. D., when one of the mss. of Dhaneśvara's commentary was copied. He has written, as mentioned in the *praśasti* of

1 Professor S. R. Bhandarkar in his Report of a second tour in search of mss. in Rājputāna and Central India (1904-5 and 1905-6) mentions a *टिप्पण* on *दुर्गसिद्धकातन्त्रवृत्तिटीका*, which is written in Samvat 1369. This *टिप्पण* was made during the reign of Alpakbāna who has been identified with the brother-in-law of Sultan Alaudin

(Elliot and Dowson, iii. pp. 157 and 208). If this Alpakbāna be the same as our Alpasāhi, Maṇḍana will have to be placed even before Puṇjaraṇa, which however does not appear very likely.

2 He must be distinguished from Bopadeva's preceptor, who was also named Dhaneśvara.

five stanzas at the end of the तद्धित section of the commentary, a Tikā on the Mahābhāṣya called Chintāmaṇi, a new grammar for beginners called Prakriyāmaṇi, and a commentary on a stotra from the Padmapurāṇa.

**Jagannātha.**—This commentator also quotes and is therefore later than Dhanendra. We know nothing personal about Jagannātha. The commentary bears the name of Sārapradīpikā.

**Kaśīnātha.**—His commentary is called Sārasvatabhāṣya, but is not so diffuse as the name would imply. The author is not communicative about himself and the only thing that can be definitely asserted of him is that he must have lived prior to 1610 A. D., when a ms. (no. 292 of 1880-81) of his commentary was copied down at Barhanpur.

**Bhaṭṭa Gopāla.**—Is another commentator who can be similarly disposed of by noting that a ms. of his commentary was copied in A. D. 1615.

**Sahajakīrti.**—It is a relief to come from these shadowy figures to one who is somewhat less chary of giving us information about himself. Sahajakīrti was a Jain, a Vāchanāchārāya and a pupil of Hemanandanagaṇi of the Kharatara Gachchha. The com. is called Sārasvataprakriyāvārtika and was composed<sup>1</sup> in A. D. 1623.

**Haṁsavijayagaṇi.**—The contribution of this author is very slight, he having been apparently content to write a very diffuse com. called Śabdārthachandrikā on the introductory verses of the Sārasvataprakriyā. He was the pupil of Vijayānanda and flourished about Saṁvat 1708 = A. D. 1650.

1 Compare—वत्सरे भूमिसिन्धुकाश्यपीप्रमितिश्चिते ।

माघस्य शुक्लपञ्चम्यां दिवसे पूर्णतामगात् ॥

**Rāmabhaṭṭa.**—This author's com. is a curiosity not so much for its subject matter as for the manner of its compilation. The com. is called *Vidvatprabodhini* or *Rāmabhaṭṭi* after the author. At the end of each section of the com. the author gives in one to five stanzas details about himself, his family, his travels, and his literary works, from which we learn i. that the author was an Āndhra coming from the Telaṅgaṇa country, or more definitely, from the regions around the Uraṅgala hills, where ruled in his days a king called *Pratāparudra*, in whose court was the great pandit called *Uddana* or *Udayana*; ii. that the author's father was one *Narasimha* and his mother a very pious lady called *Kāmā*. Having led a very happy life in his native place and written various literary works—among others, commentaries on the three *Kāvya*s of the great *Kālidāsa*—the author in the company of his wife, two sons called *Lakshmīdhara* and *Janārdana*, and daughters-in-law starts, at the advanced age of seventy-seven, on a pilgrimage to holy places. During the halts of the journey such leisure moments as the author could command were employed in writing the present commentary. The main interest of the work lies in the record which is kept of the holy places visited on the way. At the conclusion of every section, the incidents of the pilgrimage are versified and written down as a sort of a *praśasti*, together with a stanza or two in praise of the filial affection and dutifulness of the two sons. Although the diary is not as accurate and detailed as we would wish and the incidents of the journey by no means unusual yet the picture it gives of the real social life some three hundred years ago is by no means void of charm. It is to be regretted that none of the mss. accessible are complete.

In addition to these names there could be mentioned a few others—such as *Ratnākara*, *Nārāyaṇabhārati*,

Kshemañkara, Mahīdhara, etc.—but we have had already a wearisome list of them, sufficient to indicate the course of development of the school since its origin in the thirteenth century. It is necessary, however, to mention a few more writers who wrote commentaries on the Sārasvata independently of the Sārasvataprakriyā, although none extant is older than that work.

78 Commentaries on the Sārasvata independently of the Prakriyā.—The most famous of these, as having given rise to more than one sub-commentaries is the Siddhāntachandrikā by Rāmchandrāśrama. As we possess little information about this author, we at once turn to his commentators. These are i. Lokeśakara, son of Kshemañkara and grandson of Rāmakara. He wrote a com. on the Siddhāntachandrikā called Tattvadīpikā in the year चंद्रवेदहयभूमिसंयुते, *i. e.* A. D. 1683. And ii. Sadānanda who wrote a com. called Subodhinī, which has been published at Benares. Rāmchandrāśrama appears also to have written an abridgment of his own com. called Laghu-Siddhāntachandrikā.

Another independent com. on the Sārasvata sūtras is by Tarkatīlakabhattachārya, the son of Dvārika or Dvarakādāsa and the younger brother of Mohana Madhusūdana. The author points<sup>1</sup> out many interpolations in the works of Anubhūtiśvarupāchārya. He wrote his work in 1614 A. D. in the reign of Jahangir.<sup>2</sup>

Siddhāntaratna by Jinendu or Jinaratna is yet another. We know nothing about it or its author. The com. is very short and probably very modern.

One more extensive work on the Sārasvata remains to be mentioned. It was undertaken by a pupil of Bha-

1 With the words—इदं परमहंस-  
श्रीमद्वदभूतिलिखने क्षीरे नीरमिव  
प्रक्षिप्तम्।

2 Compare-नयनमुनिक्षितिपांके (1672)  
वर्षे नगरे च दोडाख्ये । वृत्तिरियं सं-  
सिद्धा क्षितिमवति श्रीजहांगीरे ॥

ṭṭoji Dikshita, Raghunātha by name. It is called *Laghubhāshya* and aspires to treat of the various grammatical topics after the manner of *Paṭasjali*. Raghunātha was a Nāgara, the son of Vināyaka, and belongs, as the pupil of Bhaṭṭoji to the middle of the seventeenth century.

79. *Treatises accessory to the Sārasvata*.—Of accessory treatises in connection with the *Sārasvata* there are very few. There are no works on *Uṇādis* or *Paribhāshas*. A *Dhātupātha* with a com. on it called *Taraṅgiṇī* was composed, as stated above, by Harshakīrti, pupil of Chandrakīrti. His date, therefore, is cir. 1560 A. D. A writer called Jñānatilaka has put together all the examples of कृत्, तद्धित, and उणादि affixes based on the *Sārasvata* chapters dealing with them. A ms. of this work is dated *Samvat* 1704. Another writer named Mādhava has attempted a derivation of words according to the *Sārasvata*. His date is probably<sup>3</sup> 1680; and these are all, or at any rate, all worth noticing.

As the *Sārasvata* was meant to be the shortest and the easiest manual of Sanskrit grammar, it would seem that no further abridgments of it were called for. The facts are otherwise. Besides the *Laghusiddhāntachandrikā* above noticed, an author called *Kalyāṇasarasvatī* has produced बालानां शीघ्रबोधाय a small work called *Laghusārasvata*. He lived probably towards the close of the 18th century.

80. *General review of the history of the Sārasvata school*.—Taking now a general review of the history of this school it will be perceived that the *Sārasvata* like the *Kātantra*, sprang up in response to the felt need of the time, and having once attained a fixity of form, the work continued to be studied in all parts of Northern India by the

3 Compare — खनागर(1६) सुपधुता-  
द्वेयेने(1) उत्तरे तथा । ग्रीष्मे ज्येष्ठे

सिते सौम्ये ह्येकादश्यां तवे (1) घुरे ॥



help of the numerous commentaries which came into existence simultaneously and on all sides. Each commentary may be looked upon as having centered within itself the literary longings of the country around its place of nativity. And in later times there were made no attempts to improve or supplement the *Sārasvata*, simply because the students of the *Sārasvata* did not wish to be erudite grammarians, considering grammar only as a means to an end. Only one such attempt by a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji has come down to us; but by that time the *Kaumudī* and the abridgments of *Varadarāja* and others had fairly ousted the *Sārasvata* from the field.

It is an interesting coincidence that when the British rulers of India were first actuated by a desire to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with the literature and the ancient traditions of their subjects through the medium of Sanskrit, one of the earliest and the easiest of anglo-sanskrit grammars that was written was Wilkin's, the basis for which was just this same *Sārasvata*. At present the school has very little following. Its study is mainly confined to the provinces of Behar and Benares.

### **The School of Bopadeva**

81. The school of Bopadeva.—This is a comparatively recent school of grammarians. Consequently there is no tradition of divine revelation attaching to the *Mugdhabodha*, the chief text-book of the school, but it is accepted as the work of a real human author called Bopadeva.

82. The date of Bopadeva.—Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Keśava and his teacher's name was Dhaneśa. Bopadeva's birth-place is said to have been somewhere near the modern Daulatabad in the Mahratta country, then ruled by the Yādavas of Devagiri. Bopadeva is quoted by Mallinātha (cir. 1350) in his commen-

tary on the Kumāra, and he is known<sup>1</sup> to have been the protege of Hemādri, who was a minister (अक्रिणाधिप) to Mahādeva the Yādava king of Devagiri (1260-1271 A. D.), and to his successor Rāmadeva. Bopadeva's father as well as teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. He was thus a native of the Berars.<sup>2</sup> Although born of Vaidya parents he bears the surname Gosvāmi or high priest. Bopadeva was a scholar of great renown and a voluminous writer. Besides the *Mugdhabodha*, *Kavikalpadruma*, and its commentary—the *Kāmadhenu*—Bopadeva has written the *Muktāphala* and *Harililāvivaraṇa* (both dealing with the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*), a medical work called *Sātaśloki*, and a treatise on *Dharmaśāstra*.<sup>3</sup>

83. The object of Bopadeva's *Mugdhabodha*.—We have seen how various attempts were made quite early to improve upon Pāṇini's grammar by making his rules more terse and accurate. Where these attempts were made in the way of *vārtikas* or commentaries, they increased the student's difficulties rather than simplified them. And where attempts were made to establish a new school independently of Pāṇini, the founders were in most cases the followers of some unorthodox church, so that the need of a fresh manual (as distinguished from a mere recast of old rules and terms) remained as pressing as ever.

1 Compare—विद्वद्धेनशशिपेण भिषके-  
श्वस्तुना॥ हेमाद्रिर्षोपदेवेन सुक्ता-  
फलमचीकरत्॥—from the *सुक्ता-  
फल*, and श्रीमद्भागवतस्कंधाध्याया-  
र्थादि निरूप्यते । विदुषा षोपदेवेन  
मंत्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये॥—from the *हरि-  
लीलाविवरण*.

2 Dr. Bhandarkar's *Early History*  
of the Deccan, p. 89.

3 That Bopadeva did not write

the *Bhāgavata* can be proved  
from various arguments :  
amongst others the following  
quotation (उक्तोवधूतमार्गश्च कुप्ये-  
मेवोद्धर्ष मति । श्रीभागवतसंज्ञे तु  
पुराणे दृश्यते हि सः॥) from the  
*सर्वसिद्धांतसंग्रह* (p. 63) of शंकरा-  
चार्य, edited (1909) by Kaṅṅū-  
chārya, who tries to prove its  
genuineness.

It was at such a juncture that Bopadeva wrote his *Mugdhabodha*. His object therein was simplicity coupled with brevity. The first he attained by following the natural mode of presentation such as is found in the *Kātantra*. For the second, he adopted Pāṇini's *pratyāhāra-sūtras*—making in them the changes necessary for their adoption to his own system. He omits all notices of accents, and the Vedic peculiarities are dismissed in one (the last) *sūtra*—बहुलं ब्रह्मणि, corresponding to Pāṇini's oft-repeated बहुलं छन्दसि. Another feature which we notice in this grammar for the first time is its religious element. In the choice of examples illustrating his rules Bopadeva has taken care to use wherever possible the names of Hari Hara, and other gods.<sup>1</sup> Bopadeva is here equally partial to Hari, Hara, or Rāma; but later writers have outdone him in this respect. Even the technical terms of some of these modern grammarians are the names of Kṛishṇa, Rādhā, Śiva, Durgā, etc. We shall have occasion to revert to these later.

Bopadeva's technical terms often deviate from Pāṇini's.<sup>2</sup> Owing to the absence of all the *its* of the Pāṇiniya system and a slightly varied arrangement of letters, the *pratyāhāras* or rather the *samāhāras* of Bopadeva are quite puzzling to a student of Pāṇini; and since all ancient writers and commentators have followed the Pāṇiniya grammar in their writings, this extreme divergence from his system prevented the *Mugdhabodha* from being studied in all parts of India, which its clear and logical method entitled it to be.

1 Thus सवर्णसन्धि is illustrated by मुरारि, लक्ष्मिशि, विष्णुत्सव; the optional forms एनं, एनौ, etc. are shown by—इमं विद्धि हरेर्भक्तं विद्ध्यथैमं शिवार्चकम्। अनेन पूजितः कृष्णोऽथैनेन गिरिशोऽर्चितः॥ an

instance of कारक is—रामः प्रत्य-  
गुणात् तस्मै लक्ष्मणोऽवगुणात् कापिम्॥  
and so on everywhere.

2 For example, धू for धातु वृ for वृद्धि; ज्ञान for ज्ञानच्, अि for सर्वनामन् etc.

84. *Later history of Bopadeva's school.*—From what is said just now we are not to conclude that the *Mugdhabodha* was never widely popular. In the two centuries preceding the rise of the *Mahratta* power and the revival of *Pāṇini* it enjoyed a wide currency as well in the land of its origin as elsewhere. This is clear from the statements of *Bhaṭṭoji-dikṣita* in the *Śabdakaustubha* and in the *Manoramā*. In the latter he says—

शेषद्वयमहाप्राहृष्टंतां यामनदिग्गजः ।

रहितैर्यं प्रगृहेन मापयेन विमोक्षितः ॥

He is also at great pains to refute the opinions of the author of the *Mugdhabodha*, which must have dominated the literary world before the advent of *Bhaṭṭoji*.

It was only in the seventeenth century that like other non-*Pāṇiniya* systems of grammar this school had to take refuge in a country which was farthest removed from *Mahratta* influence, that is, *Bengal*, or rather the neighbourhood of *Nadia* on both the sides of the *Ganges*, where it continues to be assiduously studied to the present day.

During the few centuries of its existence the *Mugdhabodha* has produced quite a bewildering number of digests and commentaries. The most celebrated of the commentaries is that of *Rāmatarkavāgiśa*, a profound logician and an adept in the grammars of other schools (*षाणिन्यादिमतायलोचनपरः*), upon whose systems he frequently draws to supply errors or omissions in the *Mugdhabodha*. He is quoted by *Durgādāsa* (1639 A. D.) who wrote a commentary on the *Kavikalpadruma*.

*Durgādāsa* also quotes *Rāmānanda*, *Devidāsa*, and *Kāśīśvāra* and his predecessors, while he is in his turn quoted by *Vidyāvāgiśa*, *Bholānātha*, and *Rāmabhadra*nyāyālākāra.

A few more names are given by Aufrecht, but they need not detain us here. Of modern commentaries on the Mugdhabodha there is no end. Most of these are produced in Bengal.

85. *Supplements and accessory treatises of the Mugdhabodha.*—As the aim of the Mugdhabodha was brevity, it was inevitable that it should have omitted several obscure rules. Accordingly we find three attempts made one after another to supply the defects : by Nandakiśorabhaṭṭa, by Kāśīśvara, and by Rāmatarakavāgiśa. The first of these gives his date—गगननयनकालक्षमामिते, that is, A. D. 1398. He was therefore a very early writer. Of other modern attempts we need not speak anything.

As to accessory treatises Bopadeva himself left none, except the Kavikalpadruma, which is a list of roots arranged accordingly to their endings, and a commentary on the same called Kāmadhenu, the chief importance of which for us lies in its numerous quotations. Attempts more or less successful have been since made to give to this school other accessory treatises. Rāmachandra-vidyābhūṣṇa (Śaka 1610) wrote a Paribhāṣhāvṛitti. Rāmatarakavāgiśa put together an alphabetically arranged Uṇā-dikośa. And there are other minor works attributed, probably by mistake, to Bopadeva himself.

### The Jaumara School

86. *The Jaumara school of Kramadīśvara.*—The name by which this school is popularly known is a misnomer. It comes from Jumaranandī the most celebrated writer of the school, though we have reason to think that he lived some time after its founder. This was Kramadīśvara styled वादीन्द्रचक्रचूडामणि. Nothing is known of Kramadīśvara's parentage and nativity. His work is called Saṅkshipta-sāra, indicating by it that it was an epitome or an abridgment of some larger grammar ; and as it could be the

nbridgment of no other grammar than Pāṇini's, it is possible that this was the first of its kind, prior to the Prakriyā- and Siddhānta-kaumudis. Aufrecht in fact makes the school even anterior to Bopadeva, though Colebrooke places it immediately after.

87. *Special features of the Jaumara* — Kramadīśvara seems to have composed his grammar on the model of Bhartṛhari's Mahābhāṣya-dīpikā, and he has taken most of his illustrations from the Bhaṭṭikāvya. The work meant as an epitome of the Aṣṭādhyāyī is about three-fourths as large as that work. The only changes effected by Kramadīśvara were confined to the rejection of a few superfluous or difficult rules of Pāṇini and the adoption of a different mode of arrangement. The work is divided into seven pādas,<sup>1</sup> the eighth dealing with Prākṛit being added later. In the mode of systematising the grammatical material, as also in accuracy and method, the grammars of Bopadeva and others certainly compare favourably with this grammar, which may be due to its being perhaps the first of its kind. Still it is not altogether wanting in correct reasoning, and the erudition displayed by Kramadīśvara is far in advance of that of popular grammarians.

88. *Commentaries on the Jaumara*.—The Saṅkshiptasāra as it left the hands of Kramadīśvara must have been either incomplete or deficient, and it has undergone a more or less thorough revision at the hands of Jumarānandī who is styled in the mss. महाराजाधिराज. Detractors of the school make much fun of the name Jumarānandī, which they believe belongs to a man of the weaver caste. Jumarānandī's vṛtti is known as Rāsavati and in consequence the school itself bore the name of Rāsavata under which

1 Namely, सङ्ग्रह, सिद्धन्त, छन्दन्त, तद्धित, कारक, वृत्तन्त, and समास.

title it is quoted by Bharata the commentator on the Bhaṭṭikāvya. Jumarnandi's seems to have been the earliest exposition of this system. He has also revised for this school the Pāṇiniya Dhātupāṭha.<sup>1</sup>

Next to Rasavati, Goyīchandra's commentary deserves a brief mention. Goyīchandra styles himself औत्थासन्निक, which may be either a patronymic or some religious or political title the significance of which is lost to us.<sup>2</sup> The best part of Goyīchandra's commentary is that on the fifth or the Kāraka pāda, which along with its able and learned gloss by Abhirāmavidyālaṅkāra is studied even by the students of other schools for the sake of a correct and complete understanding of syntax. Besides this commentary Goyīchandra has also written a work on the Uṇādis, and a list of some 127 paribhāshās.

Goyīchandra's commentary is further commented upon by Nyāyapañchānana, son of Vidyāvinoda, a ms. of which is dated Śaka 1634; by Keśavadeva styled Tarkapañchānanabhāṭṭāchārya;<sup>3</sup> by Chandrasekharavidyālaṅkāra; by Vamśivādana, Harirāma, and many others. Independently of Goyīchandra's gloss there do not seem to be in existence any notable commentaries on the Jaumara grammar. Colebrooke mentions only one by Gopāla-chakravarti.

89. Present status of the Jaumara school.—Next to the Kāt-antra this grammar has the widest circulation at present in Western Bengal, where it disputes with Mugdhabodha the palm for supremacy. The literary activity of the school—such as it is—is not yet over.

1 Compare ms. no. 196 of Notices, second series, vol. i.

2 Explained as—उत्थासन्नं दीयते राजादिभिरिति। अन्यमुद्दिश्य राज्ञा नाम्मुद्दिश्यते। अस्मै आसनमापि दीयते इत्याधिक्यमास्ति।

3 The commentary is called व्याकरण-दुर्घटोद्घाट, and regarding it the author says—गोयीचन्द्रमतं सम्प्र-गुह्यता दूयितं तु यत्। अन्यथा विदुत-यद्वा तन्मया प्रकटीकृतम्॥

## The Saupadma School

90. The Saupadma school of Padmanābhādatta.—The originator of this school is a Maithila Brahman named Padmanābhādatta, the son of Dāmodaradatta and grandson of Śrīdatta. This Padmanābhādatta is to be distinguished from another writer of the same name, the son of Gaṇeś-vara and grandson of Sripati, who wrote for the school a work called *Prishodarādivṛitti*, which was written, according to the author's own statement, in Śaka 1297 (A. D. 1375). If this date be correct<sup>1</sup> it follows that the other Padmanābhādatta, the founder of the Saupadma school, was either a contemporary or lived very shortly after Ujvaladatta, whom he mentions as one of his authorities<sup>2</sup> in his lexicon called *Bhūriprayoga*. His being placed in the last quarter of the fourteenth century does not, at any rate, conflict with any other hitherto ascertained facts.

91. Special features of the Saupadma.—Regarding the work of Padmanābhādatta it is, as he himself states, based upon Pāṇini, some of whose sūtras and technical terms as also his *pratyāhāras* he has retained verbatim. He has, of course, remodelled<sup>3</sup> a greater part of Pāṇini's rules and arranged them in a somewhat more methodical form, adding a short explanation of his own after each sūtra.<sup>4</sup> His

- 1 A ms. of the work is no. 228 of Notices, second series, vol. i. The date looks rather suspicious from the fact that in the beginning of the same work the author has attempted to trace his ancestry from Vararuchi, one of the nine gems in the court of vikramāditya. Needless to say that the attempted genealogy is a failure.
- 2 Compare—विश्वकाशमरकोपदीका-  
त्रिषाण्वशेषोऽग्न्यलक्ष्यवृत्तिः ।  
पाराशरीमेदिनिकोपगम्यशालोक्ष्य लक्ष-  
लिलितं मपैतत् ॥
- 3 Thus Pāṇini's आदिरन्त्येन सहेत  
is changed into आदिरितान्त्येन  
समर्थः ।
- 4 The work consists of five chapters dealing with i. संज्ञा and सन्धि ; ii. कारक and declension ; iii. आख्यात ; iv. कृद् and उणादि suffixes ; and v. तद्धित.



treatment of Pāṇini—the fact of his having retained most of the Pāṇiniya terminology—has given the Saupadma an advantage over Bopadeva. Students of the Saupadma have not in their later studies to face the inconvenient necessity of unlearning their own technicalities in order to read the various commentaries and scholia (written to elucidate poems and works of science), most of which use Pāṇini's terminology.

92. *Commentaries on the Saupadma.*—Padmanābha, the founder of the school, has himself written a commentary on his grammar, called the Supadmapaṇjikā. Several later commentaries are mentioned by Colebrooke, such as those of Kandarpasiddhānta, Kāśīśvara, Śrīdhara-chakravarti, Rāmachandra, etc. The best of the lot is Viṣṇu-miśra's Supadma-makaranda in twenty sections called drops or 'bindus.'

93. *Treatises accessory to the Saupadma.*—Of accessory treatises to the Saupadma there is also a great number. Works on the Uṇādis, Dhātus, and Paribhāshās were written by the founder himself. At the conclusion of the last work, Paribhāshāvṛitti, the author has given an up-to-date account of his literary activity, which is of considerable value.<sup>1</sup> Regarding his work on the Uṇādis (Uṇādivṛitti) it follows a peculiar plan of arrangement. "The treatise is divided into two chapters, the first containing the suffixes that end in a vowel, and the second those in consonants. They are all arranged alphabetically. The sūtras are Padmanābha's own composition, and in his explanations he usually follows Ujjvaladatta." The paribhāshās of the Saupadma school are some of them word for word Pāṇini's, while others are modelled on that basis. The Dhātupāṭha follows Pāṇini's division into सुवादि, अदादि etc, and has a com. on it called

1 See India Office Catalogue, Part ii, Ms. no. 890.

**Dhātunirṇaya.** A Gaṇapāṭha to the Saupadma has been supplied by Kāśīśvara and a com. on it by Ramākānta. There are also minor works on गमास and कारक attaching to the school, and a supplement has also later been tacked on to it.

94. **Present status of the Saupadma.**—At present the influence of the school is limited to parts of central Bengal that is, to Jessore, Khulna and Bharatpur in the Twenty-four Paraganas.

### Later Sectarian Schools

95. **Later Sectarian Schools.**—We now come to a class of grammarians who have carried to extremes the tendency, already present, as we saw, in Bopadeva, to make grammar the vehicle of religion; and prominent amongst these are the Vaishṇava grammars called Harināmāmṛita.

96. **Harināmāmṛita**—There are two works going by this name. The one by Rūpagosvāmin, the companion and disciple of Chaitanya (1484-1527) and the author of several other Vaishṇava works, is perhaps the older of the two. The peculiarity of this work is the employment of various names of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, and of their acts, not simply by way of illustration but as actual technical terms. Thus the vowels of the pratyāhāra अच् are each designated by the different incarnations of Viṣṇu, the theory being—

साङ्केत्यं परिहासं वा स्तोत्रं (?) हेनमेव ।  
वेकुण्ठनामग्रहणमशेषापहरं विदुः ॥

As is to be expected, beyond the introduction of this sectarian element no other improvement on the existing texts of grammar is here to be met with. The whole subject is presented to us in a dull uninteresting manner.

Jivagosvāmin's Harināmāmṛita varies only slightly from the above. A third Vaishṇava grammar called Chaitanyāmṛita is likewise mentioned by Colebrooke.<sup>1</sup>

Most of these grammars were intended to appeal to a very small community. There are consequently no commentaries or supplements handed down in connection with them. The few that exist do not call for any special mention. These grammars are at present in use among the Vaishṇavas of Bengal.

97. *Prabodhaprakāśa*.—There are reported to have been in existence similar sectarian works of the Śaiva or Śākta schools, of which the *Prabodhaprakāśa* is one. It is uncertain and immaterial as to whether the Vaishṇavas or the Śaivas are to be credited with the invention of this ingenious sectarian device. We may suppose that the beginning having been once made by Bopadeva, who was a हरिहराद्वैतवादी, little remained but to stretch the thing still further.

The author of the *Prabodhaprakāśa* is Bālarāmapañchānana, probably a Brahman by caste, about whose time and place no information has come down to us. In his works he designated the vowels by Śiva, so that we read in his work of शिवसन्धिपाद, शक्त्यन्तपुलिङ्गपाद, शिवान्तस्त्रीलिङ्गपाद, etc. Here is one of his sūtras अमृद्भृजशम्भूनां रुद्रो प्रथमः, which is explained मृद्भृजशम्भुवर्णानां स्थाने प्रथमवर्णः स्याद्रुद्रे परे । A *Dhātuprakāśa* is also attributed to this author. It is clear that works which carry things to such an extreme can claim the only merit of doggedly carrying an idea through. It may therefore be excused if no further attempt is made to sketch out the history of such schools, for the simple reason that they have no history.

1. Miscellaneous Essays, vol. ii. p. 48.

## Lesser Manuals and School-books

98. *Lesser Manuals and School-books*.—The age of the really original grammarians was long over. It was succeeded by that of able commentators and critics which continued as long as there was the necessity of understanding and correctly interpreting a great author. When even this became a difficult task, there was nothing to be done but the writing of small and smaller manuals adapted to the comprehension of the lay understanding. We have seen how, in most of the schools of grammarians worthy of the name, the declining age of each witnessed a host of such manuals and manuals of manuals. Even this, it would appear, was not enough. Out of the debris of these schools there grew up a spirit of eclecticism, and now we meet with grammatical hand-books which depend upon no system, and were written merely for a select circle of the uninitiated. These mushroom crops disappeared as fast as they were produced. They were not written for posterity. Before we close this essay we shall take up a few typical works of this class.

1. *Prabodhachandrikā*.—A work not more than a hundred and fifty years old, being an elementary grammar treating in anushtubh stanzas of the leading topics of grammar, the illustrative examples being connected with the names of Rāma. The author is supposed to be Vijjala-bhūpati, the son of one Vikrama and Chandrāvati and belonging to the Chauhāṇa race ruling at Patna. He wrote it for the benefit of his son Hirādharma. A commentary called Subodhini is written upon it by Gopālagiri doubtless a protege of the prince.

2. *Bhoja-vyākaraṇa* by *Vinayasundara*.—Written for the benefit of a king Bhoja, son of Bhāramalla. This

work, like the above, is metrical in form, following the usual topical arrangement.

3. *Bhāvasīmhaprakriyā* by *Bhaṭṭa-rināyaka*—This is another of what we may call 'royal' grammars. It was written for the edification of Bhāvasīmha the eldest son of a local prince who is styled मेदिनीराट् (Lord of the Earth).

4. *Dipavyākaraṇa* by *Chidrūpāsrama*—The author calls himself परमहंसपरिव्राजक. The work is independent of the symbolical and intricate terminology of the older schools, giving short rules in an easy form adapted to the capacities of juvenile students.

5. *Kārikāvali* by *Nārāyaṇa* surnamed *Bhaṭṭāchārya-chakravartī*—This elementary grammar was meant originally for the author's son, who in this case has made a grateful return by writing a commentary on the same.

6. *Bālāyabodha* by *Narahari*—This is the last of these little manuals—each typical of a host of others—that we mention. The work is meant to remove the obstacles in the way of students learning the five mahā-kāvya, arising from the circumstance of their not having learnt grammar before. The author assures us that with the help of his work दशभिर्दिवसेष्वेव्याहरणो भवति. In it words and their forms are taken up in the order in which they are required for the study of the Kāvya in the order in which they are usually studied.

99. Conclusion—We might mention a few more works of a similar kind, bringing the record down to quite recent times, but it would be hardly necessary. These works can by no device be grouped under one school. They merely represent a tendency and as such they do not fall within the province of our essay. Here then we might suppose our account of the different existing systems of Sanskrit grammar to have at last attained its natural termination.

## APPENDIX I.

( See note 2 on page 60 )

## ॥ चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि ॥

ॐ विप्रान्तकाय नमः । ॐ । स्थानकाजप्रत्ययेभ्यो णां जायन्ते ॥ तत्र स्थानम् । कण्ठः अकृष्टविसर्जनीयानाम् । कण्ठान्मुकम् इदं देनाम् । कण्ठोष्ठम् । उदादीनाम् । मूढां कटुरूपानाम् । दन्ताः दन्तुमानाम् । नासिका अनुग्राह्य ॥ स्वस्थानानुनासिकाः ह्रस्वनमः । तान्मु इषुष्यानाम् । ओष्ठो उपभानी-  
ययोः । दन्तोष्ठं वकारम् । निहामूढं निहामूढीयम् ॥

६ करणम् । निहाम् दन्तानाम् । निहाम् तान्मुष्यानाम् । निहोराय शिर-  
स्यानाम् । शेषाः स्वस्थानकारणाः ॥

प्रयत्नो द्विविधः । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्य ॥ तत्राभ्यन्तरः संवृतत्वं विवृतत्वं  
१ सृष्टत्वं ईदृशसृष्टत्वं च ॥ संवृतत्वं अकारम् । विवृतं ऊष्मणा स्थानां  
च । तेष्वो विवृतत्वं त्वेदोतोः [ भेदोतोः ] । ताभ्यामेदोतोः । ताभ्यामप्या-  
कारम् ॥ सृष्टत्वं ग्राहीनाम् ॥ ईदृशसृष्टत्वं त्वन्तस्थानाम् ॥ घ्राणाः । णां  
१२ प्रथमद्वितीयाः शपसविसर्जनीयनिहामूढीयौपभानीयाश्च विवृतकण्ठा नादा-  
नुप्रदाना अपोषाः । प्रथमद्वितीयापचक्षमा अन्तस्थाभ्यान्वभाणाः । इतरे सर्वे  
महाभाणाः । तृतीयपचक्षमाः सानुग्राहान्तरस्थकागः संवृतकण्ठान्दानु-  
१५ प्रदाना षोडशन्तः । द्वितीयपचक्षमाः शपसहाश्रोष्माणः । कादयो मावसानाः  
स्थानाः । अन्तरथा परलगाः । इत्येव बाह्यः प्रयत्नः ॥

अत्र पावर्णो ऋषो दीर्घः पूत इति त्रिधा भिन्नः प्रत्येकमुदात्तानुदात्त-  
१८ स्वरितभेदेन सानुनासिकनिरनुनासिकभेदेन चाष्टादशधा भवति । एवमिवर्णो-  
पणो ऋवर्णश्च । ऋवर्णस्य दीर्घा न सन्ति । तेन द्वादशधा भवति ॥ एक-  
मात्रिको ऋग्यः । द्विमात्रिको दीर्घः । त्रिमात्रिकः पूतः ॥ उषेः उदात्तः । नीषे-  
२१ नुदात्तः । समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ स्वस्थानानुनासिको निरनुनासिकश्च ॥ अन्तस्था  
द्विभेदा रेवर्जिताः सानुनासिका निरनुनासिकाश्चेति ॥

॥ इति चान्द्रवर्णसूत्राणि समाप्तानि ॥

## APPENDIX ii.

( See note 2 on page 48 )

॥ अथ जोगराजविरचिता पादप्रकरणसङ्गतिः ॥

ॐ नमः शिवाय । ॐ ।

आराध्य षण्मुत्तमवाप्तवरप्रसादः  
 कारुण्यपूर्णहृदयः किल शर्ववर्मा ।  
 लोकस्य मोहतिमिराहतये व्यधत्त  
 सङ्क्षेपतः प्रकरणत्रितयात्मशास्त्रम् ॥ १ ॥

तत्रादितो व्यधित वर्णपदेषु सन्धि  
 तत्रानुनासिकपदं बहुकारकादि ।  
 आख्यातिकं तदनु साध्यपदं क्रियाख्य-  
 मेतावतैव हि समन्वयमात्रलाभः ॥ २ ॥

संज्ञाश्च परिभाषाश्च प्रथमे पाद आदिशेत् ।  
 द्वितीये स्वरसन्धि च तृतीये तन्निषेधनम् ॥ ३ ॥  
 वैयाकरणं चतुर्थे च सन्धि वैसर्गिकं परे ।  
 पष्ठे प्रथमवच्चैवं सन्धिप्रकरणं जगौ ॥ ४ ॥

नाम्न आव्ये स्वरान्तस्य लिङ्गस्य स्यादिनिर्णयः ।  
 स्वरान्तव्यञ्जनान्तस्य द्वितीये युष्मदस्मदोः ॥ ५ ॥

तृतीयेपि त्यदादीनामित्थं नामपदस्थितिः ।  
 चतुर्थे कारकस्येह विनियोगोऽथ पञ्चमे ॥ ६ ॥

समासवृत्तिसिद्धस्य तद्वितेष्वपि वर्तनम् ।  
 पष्ठेऽथ सप्तमे प्रोक्तलिङ्गात् स्त्रीप्रत्ययात् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ७ ॥

इदं नामपदं सिद्धं सङ्क्षेपात् समुपादिशत् ।  
 तदन्तन्तमतो वित्तं वाङ्मयस्योपबृंहणम् ॥ ८ ॥

आख्यातेष्वादितः कालपुरुषार्थं नियोजनाः ।  
 न्यात्युद्देशे ( ? ) द्वितीयेपि सनादिप्रत्ययान्तता ॥ ९ ॥

ततो विकरणा आत्मनेपरस्मैविनिर्णयः ।  
 तृतीयेभ्यासकार्याणि चतुर्थे सम्प्रसारणम् ॥ १० ॥

आदेशागमलोपादि पञ्चमे तु गुणागुणाः ।  
 तन्त्रं षाणपदं षष्ठं सप्तमे सेडनिट्कता ॥ ११ ॥  
 सङ्करोऽयम् इत्येवं आख्यातिकपदक्रमः ।  
 सञ्चिन्तनीयो धात्वर्थकालभेदाद्विचक्षणैः ॥ १२ ॥  
 यथोसौत्र( १ ) जपत्येको यः परोपरुतौ रतः ।  
 योपि धन्यो धनं धत्ते सोत्यन्तं सुसप्तमभ्रुते ॥ १३ ॥  
 रुतस्तथ्यादयः सोपपदानुपपदाश्च ये ।  
 लिङ्गमरुतिसिद्धयर्थं ताभू जगौ शाकटायनः ॥ १४ ॥  
 तत्रायपादे रुतन्त्रं पञ्चपायां रुतां( १ ) विधिः ।  
 सोपि साधनकालादि विभागेनेति निर्णयः ॥ १५ ॥  
 स्याद्यन्तत्वात् सुसिद्धत्वान्न तान् सूत्ररुदमवीत् ।  
 दिशन्नदीदृशद्वाहिषन्तिनिष्टादुदीरणम् ( १ ) ॥ १६ ॥  
 धातोः परे रुतो बुष्टृजादयस्ते च कर्तरि ।  
 आदौ तथ्यादयस्तेषां रुत्यास्ते भावकर्मणोः ॥ १७ ॥  
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 भूते कन्स्वादयो वर्तमाने शन्तृङ्कनादयः ॥ १८ ॥  
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 घञलकारयुक्ताया भावे पुंस्त्रीनपुंसकैः ।  
 संज्ञायां प्राप्तवासादा( १ ) वकर्तरि च कारके ॥ २० ॥  
 करणे चाधिकरणे ध्वादिरन्यत्र चेप्यते ।  
 ज्ञेयो धात्वर्थसम्बन्धे क्काणंसन्तु( १ ) विशेषणात् ॥ २१ ॥  
 कर्तान्यार्थोपदेशोपि ज्ञातापूज्यो मतः सताम् ।  
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 यद्यप्यन्यानि कार्याणि पादेष्वेव समासते ।  
 तथापीयन्ति बाहुल्याभिप्रायेणोदितानि हि ॥ २३ ॥  
 एवं शास्त्रमिदं सूत्रमात्रेण पठितं सदा ।  
 तदेति कापि सौभाग्यलक्ष्मीः किं नेति शृण्वताम् ॥ २४ ॥



नाम्नः पादैः कारकस्य स्वरूपं  
 द्वित्रैराख्यातस्थितैश्च क्रियायाः ।  
 कान्तैश्चालोच्याभिधानं क्रमेण  
 श्लोकाद्यर्थावेदने दत्तकर्णम् ॥ २५ ॥

श्रुत्वा साहित्यानि सूक्ष्माण्यथादौ  
 ज्ञात्वा काव्याकृतवृत्तार्थशब्दान् ।  
 स्वप्रागल्भ्याच्चेतिहासादि बुध्वा  
 काव्याभ्यासे तिष्ठताच्छब्दयत्नः ॥ २६ ॥

वाग्देवी सा सर्वतो भ्राजमाना  
 पात्रापात्रावेक्षणेन प्रसादान् ।  
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 स्फीतिं सूतेथेतरस्याप्यशक्तिम् ॥ २७ ॥

.....\*

.....

.....पादप्रकरणस्थितिम् ।  
 पठतां शास्त्रमाभाति करस्थं शार्ववर्मणाम् ॥ ४९ ॥  
 द्विजराजजोगराजोरचयद्वेदीपनाय शिष्याणाम् ।  
 पादप्रकरणसङ्गतिमेतां कातन्त्रसूत्राणाम् ॥ ५० ॥

॥ इति जोगराजविरचिता पादप्रकरणसङ्गतिः समाप्ता ॥

\* At this place a few unimportant stanzas are omitted.

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Yogavibhāga 37·25, 37·31; 38·n1.

Yusufzai valley 19·2; known as Udyāna in the days of Hiuen Tsang 19·3.

## ERRATA

Page 1, line 8—*for* calculation *read* calculation.

Page 8, note 1—to the list add *श्रीरसः*, and *शतपथश्रुतिः*.

Page 8, line 4—*for* commentary *read* commentary.

Page 27, line 4—*for* early centuries *read* eighth century.

Page 29, line 9—*for* are *read* is.

Page 51, line 1—*for* abridgements *read* abridgements.

Page 60, line 3—*for* grā *read* grām.

Page 65, line 1—*for* 1025 *read* 825.

Page 67, line 2—*for* 750 *read* 1250.

Page 73, note column *b*, line 2—*for* *सिद्धमुद्राचार्य* *read* *प्रभाकर*.

Page 100, line 6—*for* Dhanendra *read* Kshemendra.

\*. A few more misprints (especially regarding diacritical marks) have unfortunately crept in, but have not been here indicated.